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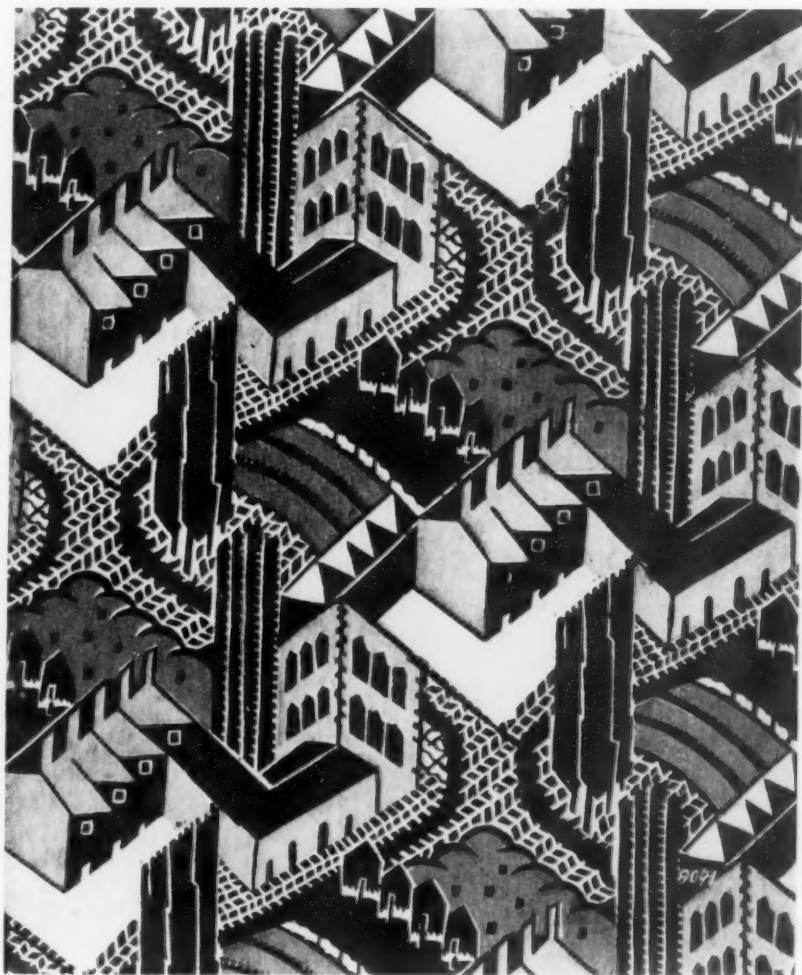
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BULLETIN OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

VOLUME XXV

NEW YORK, DECEMBER, 1930

NUMBER 12



COTTON, WELWYN GARDEN CITY, DESIGNED BY DORIS GREGG
EXECUTED BY JOYCE CLISSOLD FOR FOOTPRINTS, LONDON

DECEMBER ISSUE IN TWO SECTIONS
SECTION I

BULLETIN OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

DECEMBER, 1930
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CONTENTS

	PAGE
Front Cover Illustration: Cotton, Welwyn Garden City, designed by Doris Gregg, executed by Joyce Clissold for Footprints, London	261
Exhibition of Russian Icons	262
Symphony Concerts at the Museum	262
The International Exhibition of Decorative Metalwork and Cotton Textiles	262
Titian's Adoration of the Kings: An Important Loan	268
A Note on Kuan Ti	271
Recent Accessions: Woodcuts	274
Chinese Ink Tablets	276
Recent Accessions in the Classical Department	279
Accessions and Notes	282
Gifts and Bequests of Money—The Egyptian Expedition—A Timely Suggestion—Membership—Fragments of Roman Sarcophagi—Rearrangement of Museum Galleries—Publication Notes	
List of Accessions and Loans	284
Calendar of Current Exhibitions	286
Calendar of Lectures	286

EXHIBITION OF RUSSIAN ICONS

An exhibition of Russian icons of the twelfth to the nineteenth century, collected and lent by the Russian Soviet Government through the American Russian Institute, will be shown in the Gallery of Special

Exhibitions (D 6), beginning with a private view on January 12 and closing February 23, 1931. The collection was shown in various German and Austrian cities, and, in November and December, 1929, at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. It is now being circulated in America, coming to the Metropolitan Museum from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The material for our catalogue has been taken from the one issued by the Victoria and Albert Museum, by the kind permission of the director, Eric Maclagan.

SYMPHONY CONCERTS AT THE MUSEUM

The concerts at the Museum by a symphony orchestra under the direction of David Mannes, which have been a most popular part of the Museum's winter program ever since they were instituted, will be repeated this winter, thanks to the generosity of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and Clarence H. Mackay. As in previous years, the concerts, which are free to the public, fall into two series: the first, for which the Museum is indebted to Mr. Rockefeller, will take place on Saturdays, January 10, 17, 24, and 31, at 8 p.m.; the second, made possible by the contribution of Mr. Mackay, on Saturdays, March 7, 14, 21, and 28, at 8 p.m.

Talks on the concert programs will be given by Thomas Whitney Surette in the Lecture Hall at 5:15 on the days of the concerts.

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF DECORATIVE METALWORK AND COTTON TEXTILES

The American Federation of Arts for its third annual exhibition of contemporary industrial art (on view at the Metropolitan Museum in Gallery D 6 from December 2 to 28) has chosen to display decorative metalwork and cotton textiles. Cotton textiles? At first thought that suggests perhaps a narrow and meager field. The metalwork supposedly would prove the more interest-

ing half of the show. On the contrary, the fabrics take a decided lead: they display new and significant weaves; they are developed in an extremely wide range of texture and quality; they show, for the most part, a responsiveness to modern moods and design. They prove that textile designers and manufacturers are alert and full of ideas; it is stimulating to see their work.

Each nationality, though expressing the modern spirit, does so according to its own

in coloring and manipulation. The English textiles are excellent in their way but their way is sober and restrained. At the other extreme are the gay, if sometimes crude, colorings of the Czecho-Slovak weaves.

Beyond these rather obvious differences in national character, the fabrics in the exhibition suggest fresh points of view toward the industrial arts in general. The later nineteenth century was too often content to repeat outworn traditional designs and

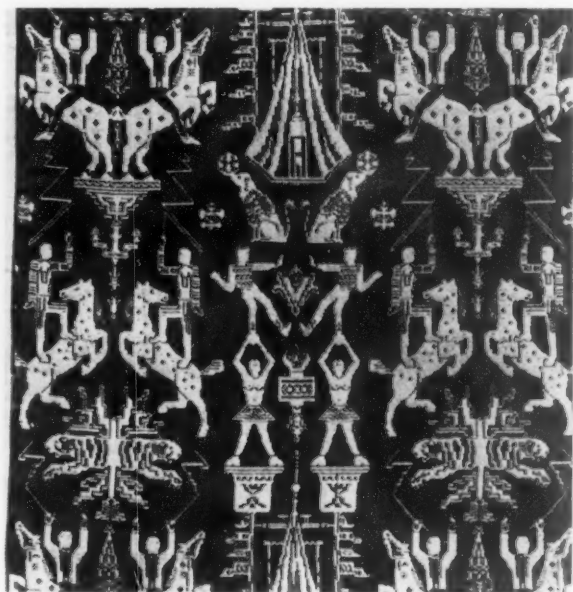


FIG. 1. WALL FABRIC, CIRCUS. HAND-WOVEN COTTON WITH SLIGHT ADMIXTURE OF LINEN. DESIGNED AND EXECUTED BY ELSA GULLBERG, STOCKHOLM

temper. One becomes much impressed by this fact when the fabrics are grouped by country, as they have been in the exhibition. In many cases, a fabric seems peculiarly appropriate to its national setting. The scarlet, peacock blue, or pine-tree green upholstery materials designed by Greta Gahn and Elsa Gullberg look heavy and warm—one can picture them in a Swedish home where the rigors of the northern winters have bred a hardy race. The fascinating "sad harlequin" pattern designed by Sonia Delaunay is what the name implies—it is definitely French in concept and ingenious

to employ an excess of ornament usually naturalistic and frequently wholly unsuited to the object to which it was applied. The more original and vigorous of modern craftsmen, refusing to continue these meaningless patterns, seek self-expression in quite opposite terms. They favor a modicum of ornament and what they use is chiefly abstract in character; consequently they rely largely on geometric motives. In textiles they make a special effort to harmonize design, colorings, and weave.

While certain individuals forge ahead, the mass of the public clings conservatively

to the old and established. In order to give their theories more forceful expression, craftsmen in many cases have joined together in guilds and craft groups. The well-organized schools of industrial art in which many of the workers are trained frankly acknowledge the importance of the machine in modern production. This development

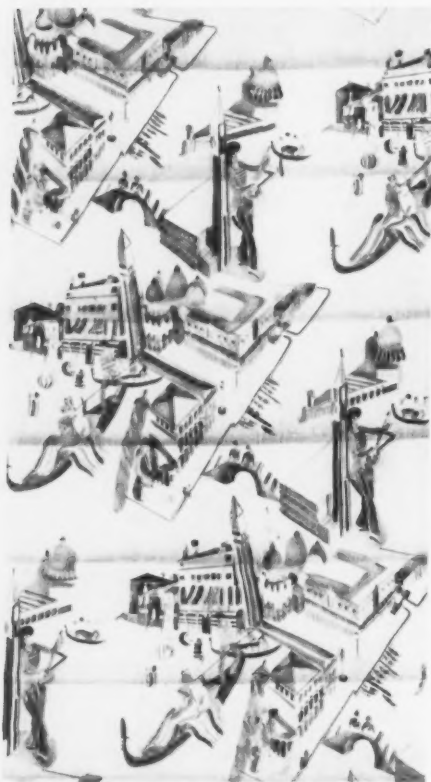


FIG. 2. DRAPERY COTTON, VENICE. DESIGNED BY MARIA MAY, EXECUTED BY WERKSTÄTTEN REIMANN, BERLIN

has been especially pronounced in Austria, Germany, the Scandinavian countries, and Czecho-Slovakia. Germany, especially, seeks to evolve good designs of a type that will have wide appeal and that may be executed inexpensively by machine methods. These craft workshops also make effective use of hand weaving.

The German section of the exhibition includes many varied weaves produced by such organizations as the Handweberei

Hablik-Lindemann, the Kunstgewerbeschule of Frankfurt on the Main, the Werkstätten Professor Ernst Scherz of Munich, and the Bauhaus Dessau. Some of the voiles in this group are particularly charming in quality and fresh in design and coloring. Maria May, working for the Reimann Workshop in Berlin, has produced some of the most sophisticated and original designs in the whole German section. Her series of panels entitled *Paris, Venice, and New York* and her panel *Diana* have a lightness and humor comparable to modern Viennese work (fig. 2).

The Swedish weavers have long-established traditions which are reflected in contemporary work in excellence of weave and vigor of color and pattern. To a large degree, however, the traditional patterns have been discarded in favor of more abstract designs. The fabrics designed by Greta Gahn and by Elsa Gullberg (fig. 1) and those designed by Marianne Stiernstedt and executed by Elisabeth Glantzberg are notable. In Sweden organized direction and support to a unique degree are given the hand weaver working in his home.

The Czecho-Slovakian textiles favor stripes and brilliant colorings. Their appeal is that of fresh color and animation rather than of marked originality or sophistication. Holland and Switzerland are also represented in the exhibition.

In contrast to Germany, where craftsman groups strive to produce work which will have a general appeal, in England to a considerable degree and notably in France the individual artist still continues to work independently and caters to a more limited and selective clientele. In the group of French textiles, the upholstery fabrics designed and woven by Madame Hélène Henry are particularly interesting. Juxtaposed triangles or combinations of other geometric patterns are developed in tones of a single color, but differences in weave and in the planes of the surface raise these patterns from the background and make them arresting. Machine-woven madras executed by Pierre Chareau is of delicious quality, soft and mellow. Sonia Delaunay impresses one with the cleverness of her designs, which though depending upon such

simple elements as diamonds or circles display great ingenuity and vitality.

The majority of the English fabrics in the exhibition are printed cottons. In general the colors are sober and somewhat masculine in character. Though the types displayed are fewer than in the French section, eminently worthy results have been achieved by these English designers. Some use purely abstract figures but many have stylized designs derived from natural motives. In several instances, as in Dorothy Larcher's *Studio Door*, the motive is almost completely raised from the realm of the concrete into that of the abstract. Similarly *Welwyn Garden City*, designed by Doris Gregg and executed by Joyce Clissold under the management of the firm known as *Footprints*, becomes almost an abstract theme (see page 261). In many other instances, the pattern is simply a conventionalized unit, repeated to make an all-over printed fabric.

In the American group by far the most significant fabrics are those designed by Ruth Reeves for W. and J. Sloane of New York. A most interesting experiment was undertaken by this firm. Enlisting the services of a designer of recognized ability who was to a considerable degree acquainted with the mechanics of machine weaving, Sloane employed her to carry out in a variety of weaves and materials designs suitable for the draperies and upholstery materials in a ten-room modern house. Miss Reeves has suited the coloring and the weaves to the medium she has chosen in each instance, carrying out the individual pattern in several different fabrics and color schemes. In the exhibition are included such widely different weaves as printed voile, glazed cotton, cotton velvet, monk's cloth, felt suitable for the top of a billiard table, and cotton velour. *Canyons of Steel* is distinguished by strong upright lines in its design; *Aiken Drag* takes for subject a fox hunt from its beginning with the *Blessing of the Hounds*. *Play-Boy*, a pattern made up of silhouetted figures representative of American sport and of geometric motives drawn from African hunting shields (fig. 3), is developed with particular effectiveness in burnt orange, brown,

and black on gold in cotton toweling, the soft deep pile of the toweling lending great richness to the general result. Miss Reeves's *Figures with Still Life* would serve admirably as a wall hanging. Elsewhere she has resorted to patterns made up of rows of triangles, relying upon variety in coloring and weave to give interest and vitality.

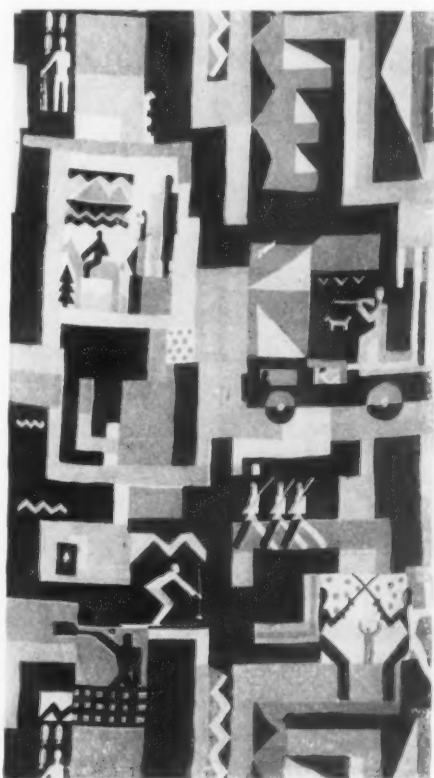


FIG. 3. COTTON TOWELING, *PLAY-BOY*
DESIGNED BY RUTH REEVES, EXECUTED BY
W. AND J. SLOANE, NEW YORK

In the metalwork shown in the exhibition one finds almost everywhere a conscious expression of the creed of the modern designer: "The true beauty of an object is not the result of taste, but is intimately allied with its function." In revolt against the tendency to superimpose upon modern work meaningless and inept ornament passed on from an earlier generation, the modern craftsman, especially in Germany, Scandinavia, and France, is stressing what

he terms "functionalist design," that is, determined by the process of manufacture and by the use to which an object will be put. The results are often severe and uncompromising, but in their very insistence they gain their point. People numbed by seeing nothing but conventional patterns, used to superfluous and stupid ornamentation, can perhaps be roused from this apathy only by strong medicine.

Germany is an admirable exponent of this new movement. The silver in many

appropriate to the soft-textured pewter.

Curiously enough, some of the French silver tea services have a heavy, almost architectural feeling, which is not what one would expect in the work of the Gallic craftsmen. The most interesting pieces in the French section of the exhibition are those developed in other metals, in the brass, copper, and patined alloys, which Linossier and Dunand have wrought with such originality and skill. Although America is already familiar with the work of these



FIG. 4. SILVER COFFEE SET WITH EBONY HANDLES. DESIGNED BY AAGE WEIMAR
EXECUTED BY EVALD NIELSEN, COPENHAGEN

instances looks utilitarian but not displeasing. Variety of surface achieved by faint hammer marks adds a certain richness and graciousness to otherwise undecorated forms. The Scandinavian silversmiths, whose achievements are already well known in America, have done much admirable work, some of it distinguished by delightful surface quality (fig. 4). Just Andersen is an excellent craftsman; his productions in bronze are particularly satisfying. His oval fluted bowl in this metal is notable for excellence of form and richness of tone. The Swedish pewter which has been developed with great enthusiasm and skill is for the most part uncompromising in form and surface; it does seem harshly utilitarian. The figures modeled in low relief on the surface of some of the more ornamental pieces, however, are distinctly pleasing and highly

artists, their use of these base metals for decorative purposes merits admiration and should prove suggestive.

The English silver, in general, leans too much upon traditional forms and ornamentation, but in technical execution, in beauty of surface, in balance of plain and decorated areas, it is unsurpassed. A piece of particularly well-planned design and graciousness of surface is the alms dish designed by Eric Gill for the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths of London. Several rain-water head boxes of cast lead are vigorous in design and represent excellent work in their field.

The exhibition as shown at the Metropolitan Museum will include a number of large objects, such as iron and bronze gates (fig. 5) and doors, which because of their size could not conveniently be shipped else-

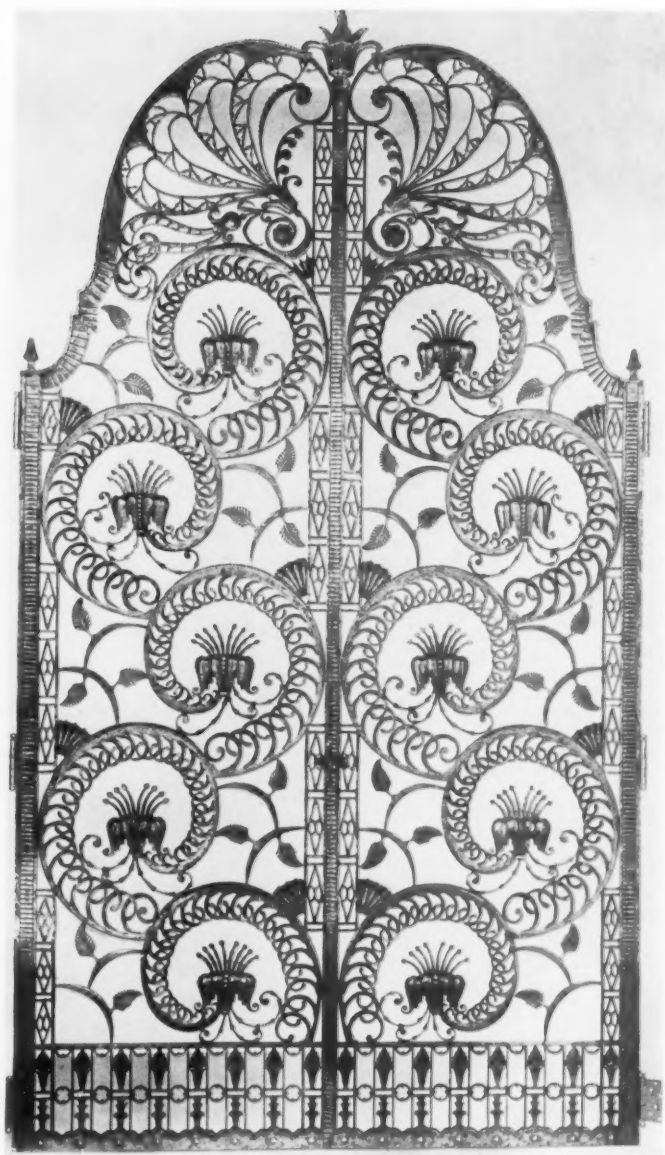


FIG. 5. GATE, IRON, HAND-WROUGHT AND CARVED. DESIGNED AND MADE
BY EDWARD F. CALDWELL COMPANY, INC., NEW YORK

where. These will represent some of the more ambitious work of American metalworkers. Of less pretentious objects, the American section shows several simple and agreeable patterns in flat silver, such as those designed by Eliel Saarinen for some of the more important quantity manufacturers.

It may be recalled that this exhibition is the last of a series of three made possible by a grant from the General Education Board to the American Federation of Arts and planned to indicate new and significant trends in modern industrial design. This exhibition began its tour at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston in October, and after its showing at the Metropolitan Museum will go on to the museums in Chicago and Cleveland.

C. LOUISE AVERY.

TITIAN'S ADORATION OF THE KINGS: AN IMPORTANT LOAN

The attention of our visitors is earnestly called to several works of art from the Arthur Sachs Collection now being shown in the Museum—a large Gothic tapestry of the first half of the fifteenth century, with the canting device, a bear, of the Ursin family (Floor I, C 19); a thirteenth-century bronze eagle (Floor I, C 18); a Franco-Flemish embroidery of the fifteenth century (Floor I, D 15); and three paintings, a Titian, a Tintoretto, and a Ribera, all of which are to be seen in Gallery C 30 on the second floor.

The Titian, the subject of this article, is of prime significance. In the judgment of the best-qualified authorities it is Titian's original painting among the several existing versions of its composition—in the Prado, in the Ambrosiana at Milan, in the Escorial, in the Belvedere in Vienna, at Belluno, and perhaps elsewhere; it is considered, moreover, to be the work which Vasari describes in these words, "Titian painted recently in a picture three braccia high and four braccia broad, Jesus Christ as an Infant in the lap of Our Lady and adored by the Magi, with a good number of figures of one braccio each, which is a very lovely work, as is also another picture that

he himself copied from that one and gave to the old Cardinal of Ferrara."

The proofs of the claims made for the Sachs painting must be sought on the canvas itself and in the comparison of its workmanship with that of the other versions of the picture, as no documentary records can be cited which state it to be by Titian or definitely identify it with the work Vasari mentions. But certain details in the painting and the circumstantial evidence of facts relative to it lead one to believe the picture to be no other than that very work. These presumptive proofs will be briefly stated in the paragraphs that follow.

The purposed destination of the painting was the French court. The fleur-de-lis on the saddlecloth of the pack mule and the crescents, the emblem of Diane de Poitiers, on the harness of the white horse of the kneeling king certify the fact. These emblems are not found in the Ambrosiana painting, which is the only other of the versions seriously accepted today as the handiwork of Titian. They do occur in the versions in the Prado and the Escorial, but both these works appear to be copies of the painting we write about. The Prado example, at present in a storeroom, may not even be a work of the school of Titian, though Morelli ascribed it to Titian's pupil Polidoro, an ascription now partly accepted in the Prado catalogue, where it is listed as by Titian or Polidoro. The Escorial version is even less considerable as an authentic work. As to the painting at Belluno, in the church of San Stephano, it was pronounced by Crowe and Cavalcaselle¹ to be by Titian's pupil and cousin Cesare Vecelli; and the one in the Belvedere is a copy after the Belluno painting, according to the catalogue of 1905, while later editions make no mention of it at all. Thus with the exceptions of the work in the Ambrosiana and the Sachs painting, in both of which the hand of Titian is recognized, expert evidence disposes of all the versions as copies by other painters.

The "old" Cardinal of Ferrara mentioned by Vasari (presumably to distinguish him from his nephew Luigi d'Este, also Cardinal of Ferrara) was Ippolito II d'Este, the son

¹ *The Life and Times of Titian*, vol. II, p. 435.



ADORATION OF THE KINGS BY TITIAN

of Lucrezia Borgia and Alfonso I d'Este.² Ippolito was a political adherent of France and counted on French influence to elect him Pope after the death of Julius III in 1555, in which undertaking he was unsuccessful, however, having been opposed by the Medici. If Titian were commissioned by Henry II of France or some one of the French court to execute a painting, Ippolito may well have been the intermediary. Another likely possibility is that the cardinal himself ordered of Titian an Adoration of the Kings, with the purpose of presenting the picture to King Henry; such a gift would have surely strengthened the French support of his papal candidature. In any event, Titian, to have made the gift, must have been deeply indebted to the cardinal, as he was not one to make gifts freely and his canvases at the time, 1550-1560, were bickered over by the greatest princes of Europe.

The copy which, according to Vasari's statement, Titian made after his original and gave to the cardinal, we do not hesitate to identify with the picture now in the Ambrosiana, although the guide book to that institution states that this picture is the one intended for the King of France. The work, it says, was painted by Titian at the commission of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, as a proposed homage to Henry II of France; that, the occasion of the homage having failed, the picture became the property of Cardinal Carlo Borromeo. The frame (in which it is still shown), the guide book continues, records the original destination of the work, as the bow and quiver (emblematic of Diane de Poitiers) and the interlaced monogram of Henry II and that lady are carved on it. These statements were made by Cardinal Federigo Borromeo when by his efforts the picture entered the Ambrosiana collection in 1618.

Now the year 1618 was fully two generations after the date of the failure of the occasion of the homage to Henry II, as that monarch died in 1559. In that lapse of time the story had become garbled somewhat, as stories have a way of doing even in much

shorter periods. It is impossible to think that the picture intended for Henry should be the one which fails to show the devices appropriate only to him and his mistress and not the other which does show them. The mistake may be explained by the fact that the frame intended for the original had been placed on the copy. Knowing that Titian had painted an Adoration of the Kings for Henry II and seeing an Adoration of the Kings by Titian in a frame ornamented with the emblems of Henry and Diane de Poitiers, the beholder would jump to the conclusion that he was before the very painting made for the French king. The reasons for the use of Henry's frame on the copy can only be conjectured.

Titian's chief patron in his later years was Philip II of Spain. The larger part of the incomparable series of Titians now in the Prado, and many superb pictures by him besides, which in one way or another have since been carried out of Spain, were purchased by Philip, in most cases directly from the painter. The correspondence between the royal agents and Titian relative to these purchases is a precious source of information in regard to the artist's works. In one of the letters written by Titian in 1560, we find that he was uneasy, not having received news from the king of three pictures, painted in 1558, which had been sent to Spain, or of a later sending of an Adoration of the Magi.³ Subsequently he heard of their safe arrival, and on April 2, 1862, he writes, "I conclude from the letters of Delfino that these pictures which I have sent, pleased your Catholic Majesty, that is to say the Poesie of Diana at the Fountain, the Fable of Callisto [both now in the Bridgewater Collection in London], the Dead Christ and the Kings of the East."⁴

It thus appears that a picture of the Adoration of the Magi, or the Kings of the East, as Titian calls it in the later letter, was sent to Philip at about the time of the death of Henry II. Under the circumstances what more natural than to presume that it was the very work executed for Henry

² Titian's portrait of Alfonso d'Este, by the way, hangs in the Marquand Gallery of the Museum.

³ Lafenestre, *La Vie et l'œuvre de Titien*, p. 268.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

which Philip received! Titian had a picture on his hands; Philip was eager to buy all of the artist's work he could procure; the vague fleur-de-lis and the little crescents on the harness in the painting would be too inconspicuous to be bothered about, but the frame with the bold insignia of Henry and his mistress would certainly be out of place in a royal Spanish palace. So a new frame would have been ordered and the frame which was to have gone to France, the canny Titian would have utilized on the copy given to Cardinal Ippolito, who would have no objection to its ornaments. This, we surmise, is the reason that Henry's frame incloses the Adoration of the Kings now in the Ambrosiana.

We are unable to find any further records which refer or might refer to the Adoration of the Kings that was sent to Philip. Many historians have assumed that the Prado Adoration was that very work, but in the light of modern connoisseurship such an assumption, as has been already pointed out, is untenable. Philip's picture, after 1662, is lost in obscurity, and the Sachs picture, which in our hypothesis we identify with it, does not emerge for a certainty until 1826, when it was sold at auction in London. How and when it reached England we are unable to hazard. But many pictures, in the fortunes of war and intrigue, have been ravished from Spain—during the Napoleonic Wars particularly—and since the history of valuables thus exported is not apt to be boasted about, their pedigrees are soon forgotten.

The first unmistakable record of the picture Mr. Sachs now owns is at the sale of the Walsh Porter Collection in London in 1826, when it was bought by Samuel Rogers, the poet. The catalogue entry states that it belonged to Charles I of England and is reputed to have been presented to him on his visit to Madrid.⁵

Mention of the painting is found in Waagen's *Treasures of Art*, published in 1854,⁶ where it is listed as by Francesco Bassano. It was then owned by Samuel Rogers's sister. At the sale of Miss Rogers's

pictures in 1856 it passed under the name of G. Bassano. "This grand work," according to the catalogue, "is from B. West's collection."⁷

In 1867 it appeared in the sale of the Munro Collection, when its attribution to Titian was restored. "From the collections of the poet Rogers and Sir B. West P. R. A.," says the catalogue.

At the Hodgson Sale in 1893 it made its last appearance at auction before its purchase in 1927 by the antiquaries from whom Mr. Sachs bought it in 1928. While in the hands of these antiquaries the painting was cleaned of its darkened varnish and many repaintings and was revealed in the condition we now see. It had been over-cleaned at some time—Titian's surfaces lost in places and his underpainting in certain passages uncovered, so that the effect was somewhat that of a work which had not been entirely finished. Very wisely this effect has not been masked by deceptive restoration. What we see on the canvas is overwhelmingly Titian's own workmanship.

Portraits by Titian still appear from time to time in the market, but his paintings of mythical or imaginative subjects are all but impossible to obtain. This Adoration of the Kings and the Europa of the Gardner Collection in Boston are the outstanding works in America which represent what may be called the lyrical strain in his genius.

BRYSON BURROUGHS.

A NOTE ON KUAN TI

Kuan Ti, the Lord Kuan, the noble god of war of China, was honored forty years after his death in A.D. 220 by the Emperor Wu Ti with the title of "Duke Companion"; in 1102 by the Emperor Hui Tsung as the "Faithful and Loyal Duke" and eight years later as the "King Magnificent and Pacifying"; by the Emperor Wên Ti of the Yüan dynasty as the "King, Warrior, and Civilizer"; and by the Emperor Wan Li as the "Great Lord, Faithful and Obedient,

⁷ But no painting which answers to the description of the Sachs picture is found in the catalogues of the sale of the Benjamin West Collection in 1820, or in a subsequent sale in 1824.

⁵ The inventories of Charles's effects list no such painting.

⁶ Vol. II, p. 267.

Helper of Heaven and Protector of the Empire."¹

It seems strange that we in the West have not been more attracted to this deity who was, in fact, created from the memory of a national hero. He is known as Kuan Yü, the name he chose for himself; as Kuan Kung, the Duke Kuan; and Kuan Ti, the Lord Kuan; and his life is romantically set forth in the book of *The Three Kingdoms*,² a historical romance of the struggle for power at the end of the Han dynasty, a work which in content might be compared to the *Morte d'Arthur*. From these tales of chivalry many of the themes of the great military plays of China are still taken. In them the people of China still see the great triumvirate, Kuan Yü, Liu Pei who became emperor, and Chang Fei; still see Kuan Yü stride forth attended by Kuan P'ing, his adopted son, and Chou Ts'ang, his faithful warrior, in countless adventures with the white-faced villain, Ts'ao Ts'ao. And they still burn incense to his image in almost every city and village of North China (probably in the South also, but of that I have no first-hand knowledge). In addition to his own temples, he appears in chapels of almost all the great Taoist and Buddhist temples and monasteries, sometimes as the god of just wars, sometimes as a god of wealth. Often he has a considerable *entourage* of officers; in his own temples he has always Kuan P'ing bearing his official seal, Chou Ts'ang holding a spear, and his noble chargers and their hostlers.

Kuan Ti was born in Shansi, in the village of Ch'ang P'ing, and it is natural that his most elaborate temples should be in that province. It is, in fact, studded with them, and many of them are literally covered with ornament—banners, wall paintings, whole walls and ceilings of battling figures in wood or mud. There with tremendous vigor and

fancy are depicted the earthly and heavenly battles of Kuan Ti. Up and down and across a fretwork of symbolic clouds and flames race the embattled forces of good and evil. It is only during the last few years that Shansi, embroiled in the troubles of modern China, has ceased to protect and preserve its temples. In these evil days the little galloping figures have poured into the market at such a rate that few stop to consider their intrinsic worth or notice their rapid destruction and dispersal.

The figures vary greatly in quality and period. I think that they run from the early Ming period to the late nineteenth century and that the greater number of them were made from the reign of Wan Li through the reign of Ch'ien Lung. It seems logical that the patronage of Wan Li should encourage the honoring of Kuan Ti's temples, and the campaigning emperors, K'ang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung, were not likely to disregard the deity. The examples shown this month in the Room of Recent Accessions³ are a selection from a great number of available specimens, and are, I think, earlier than Ch'ien Lung, quite possibly as early as Ming. They are, in any case, thoroughly charming and amusing, extremely clever in architectonic design, lively in execution, and aglow with polychromy. In this last, we are lucky that no well-meaning hand has attempted to groom them to modern taste, which demands a pallid monochrome or neutral fading in its antiquities. The champion of Oriental art finds the Westerner's inbred distrust of clear and honest color the most difficult obstacle in his study of the art. We are wont to be friendly to the splendor of the Imperial East only when it has become well aged and faded. It is a pity. Let the clear blue and ultramarine smite the eye, the reds and scarlets fire the blood, the sunlight yellows warm the flesh—surely we are not moles and bats to forego the glories of a daylight world.

ALAN PRIEST.

¹ Henri Doré, *Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine*, vol. VI, pp. 54 ff.

² C. H. Brewitt-Taylor, *The Romance of The Three Kingdoms* (the English version of the *San Kuo* by Lo Kuan-chung).

³ Acc. nos. 30.76.168-187.



FIGURES FROM THE TEMPLES OF KUAN TI, THE GOD OF WAR

RECENT ACCESSIONS:
WOODCUTS

Engraving being both slow and painful and, like the dancing of the Paris ballet, based on hard-won artificiality, the masters of the printed picture, prior to the invention of lithography, had but two media that were free and easy to their hands, the etching and the woodcut. Of these, etching only thrived and produced of its finest when kept within rather moderate limitations of size, as though its genius were both exalted and restricted by a fineness of texture which, enabling it to say much compactly, also under pain of grossness forbade expansion. Either pointed or verbose, it was unfit for the heroic verse and noble prose of draughtsmanship. Thus it was to the woodcut that the masters turned when in their more opulent and expansive moods, as did those of more modern times to the lithograph, for the woodcut had this of the extraordinary in it, that it was removed from all limitation of size, capable of producing masterpieces like those of Holbein and Altdorfer on the scale of postage stamps or like that of Titian large as any bed sheet. That the eighteenth century did not know the lithograph and never found reason to utilize the wood is perhaps somewhat more than a mere statement of historic fact—a criticism that strikes to the secret of its life.

Preëminent among the recent accessions for the Museum's collection of prints are two unusually large and finely colored primitive German single-sheet woodcuts representing the Nativity (Schr. VIII. p. 7. #*62a) and Saint Elizabeth (Schr. VIII. p. 83. #*1406). They came from the collection of Professor Victor Goldschmidt at Heidelberg, and were reproduced in his book, *Farben in der Kunst*, Heidelberg, 1919, having, when in his possession, been within the covers of a copy of the celebrated Schedel or Nuremberg Chronicle of 1493. So far as known they are not only unique, but are among the best and most perfectly preserved prints of their particular kind. With the two great *schrotblätter* that were previously in the Huth Collection and have now for a number of years been in the Museum, they give us two of the largest and

handsomest pairs of early German relief prints of the later group now known. Made sometime in the years between 1470 and 1490, they represent the single sheet as it was at the time when the woodcutters were devoting the greater part of their activity to book illustration. Except for a few of the large maps and views of cities that came out in such volumes as the *Holl Ptolemy* and the *Schedel Chronicle*, they are the largest prints of their period, and, with their exceptional and brilliant coloring, among the handsomest. The print of Saint Elizabeth is exceptionally fine, the large single figure of the saint, standing in front of an elaborate embroidered curtain of deep rose color, having a dignity and repose that are quite unusual among the contemporary German woodcuts. This print is further of particular interest because it is signed "Wolfgang"—though whether the signature is that of artist, woodcutter, or publisher it is impossible to say. The head of the saint and the name "Elspet" beside it are obviously cut upon a smaller block fitted into the larger one in such a way as to intimate that here we have a very early example of a device that was occasionally put to ingenious use by the manufacturers of religious prints. By changing the head and name they were able to apply modern time-saving and efficiency methods to the production of pictures of a number of popular saints. The most familiar use of this economic device is perhaps to be found in some of the large illustrations in the *Weiskunig* that represented councils or meetings.

With these two large cuts should be mentioned another of later date and kind, Dürer's large single-sheet woodcut of the Holy Trinity (B. 122), of which the Museum has recently been lucky enough to acquire a singularly sharp and early impression. As this was perhaps the most important—though by no means the rarest—of the single-sheet woodcuts by Dürer not already in our collection, it is to be regarded as a most welcome addition to our already very fine representation of the master's work. Designed in 1511, when he was at the height of his power, and drawn and cut with a delicacy hardly elsewhere to be observed among his woodcuts, this pic-



SAINT ELIZABETH, GERMAN WOODCUT, BETWEEN 1470 AND 1490

ture has long been famous as one of his greater technical masterpieces. From the point of view of linear structure it is the most elaborate of Dürer's drawings on the block—so close woven and so delicate that it is gray rather than brilliant through any contrast of black and white. Its fineness of texture is such that impressions both clean and sharp enough to enable the edges of the lines to be clearly seen—which is the test of quality of impression in a woodcut rather than effectiveness of color contrasts—can have been printed, almost one may say, only by accident. When seen in an impression like ours it is obviously one of the greatest technical triumphs to be found among all Renaissance woodcuts.

Among the other large woodcuts that have recently found their way into the Print Room may be mentioned several impressions in black and white from the series of Apostles done either by or after Beccafumi, who is most famous for the pictorial floor that he designed for the cathedral at Siena. Although comparatively little known, they are among the handsomest and swaggiest prints of their time, their startling contrasts of black and white and the dignity of their large single figures inevitably attracting and holding attention.

We have also acquired two of the large prints cut by Jeghers after the designs of Rubens, which Rubens himself published. One of these is the Garden of Love. The other is one of the rare impressions in *chiaroscuro* of *The Rest on the Flight*. Were these woodcuts better known there can be no question but that they would be regarded as among the most noteworthy prints that came out of the school of Rubens, among the very finest of all the prints that were produced by the northern baroque. From an artistic point of view they were the last great woodcuts to be made in the older technique of knife work. Should public opinion and taste ever return to their one-time worship of the baroque, these prints will then, beyond all doubt, be considered as among the finest woodcuts ever made. In the meantime they may be seriously commended to the attention of all who rejoice in artistic exhibitions of exuberant life and power.

The accessions of the year include many other woodcuts of the more important schools and periods, many of them of great beauty and all of them of certain interest. Those that have here been mentioned stand out from the rest not only because of their size and opulence, but because in various ways they beautifully typify the major developments in the history of woodcutting from the time that it was but little removed from a skilled handicraft to the time that the process was last utilized by one of the great masters.

A small but very important group of Renaissance woodcut books will be described in a future number of the BULLETIN.

WILLIAM M. IVINS, JR.

CHINESE INK TABLETS

The recent acquisition of eighty-seven Chinese ink tablets¹ marks the venture of the Department of Far Eastern Art into a new field, as hitherto the art of the Chinese ink maker has not been represented in the Museum collections. That ink should be referred to as if it were a thing of beauty may occasion surprise to the average reader, to whom the word "ink" connotes nothing more than a colored liquid that comes in a bottle; but to those who have had occasion to use Chinese ink and who have experienced keen regret at having to spoil the exquisitely engraved sticks or tablets by rubbing them with water on a stone palette, the surprising thing is probably the belatedness of its recognition.

The exact causes of this fundamental difference between Chinese ink and Western ink are difficult to determine and need not concern us here, but the effect of this difference is obvious; for, while a liquid ink is primarily if not exclusively the problem of the chemist, an ink in solid form becomes, after the manufacturing process has been perfected, a plastic medium of importance to the designer and the engraver. This is exactly what has happened in the case of Chinese ink: artists of considerable talent and fame have made designs expressly for ink makers, and the best engravers of the

¹ Shown this month in the Room of Recent Accessions.



INK BY CH'ÊNG CHŪN-FANG, DATED 1621.
THE PHOENIX AND THE DRAGON ARE THE
THEMES MOST FREQUENTLY MET WITH IN
INK DESIGNS



INK BY CH'ÊNG CHŪN-FANG, DATED 1620,
DEPICTING THE "THOUSAND-YEAR-OLD
FUNGUS," A FABULOUS PLANT THAT IS
THE ELIXIR OF LIFE



INK MADE BY FANG YŪ-LU, DATED 1573.
THE DESIGN, SHOWING A FABULOUS "BLACK
STAG" WITH SPOTTED SKIN, WAS MADE BY
TING YŪN-P'ÊNG

land have been employed to engrave the molds. Chinese ink is decidedly more than an article of mere utility, though from a purely utilitarian point of view its excellence is attested by its general adoption in the drafting room.

Chinese ink may be divided into two classes: ink that is intended for actual use and ink that is primarily intended for preservation. The first usually comes in round, oblong, or hexagonal sticks with decorations on one side and mottoes of some kind on the other. The name of the maker may be found on either side or along the edges, which are also the places where the dates, if present, are found. The decoration most frequently encountered is the dragon, phoenix, or *ch'i-lin*. Sometimes couplets or complete poems executed by well-known calligraphers are used instead of pictorial decorations.

The second class comes in cakes or tablets rather than sticks, and the shapes of these are often determined by the themes (a cake of ink representing an ancient bronze bell, for instance, will have the outline of a bell), though round and square cakes are most frequently met with. The themes represented in the work of the various ink makers include practically everything that is likely to interest the Chinese scholar, such as antiquities, religious subjects, natural phenomena, historical and legendary events. The books of designs for inks published by Fang Yü-lu and Ch'êng Chün-fang, two of the most famous ink makers, who flourished toward the end of the sixteenth century, are veritable cyclopedias of Chinese art themes. They consist of eight and twenty-four volumes respectively and are among the finest examples of bookmaking we have. The fact that most of these ink tablets were intended for preservation is shown not only in the irregularity of their shapes, which makes it difficult to rub them on the palette, but also by the explicit injunction, "not to be ground," found on some of the tablets.

Of the eighty-seven specimens now in the Museum collection, eight date back to the end of the sixteenth century and were made by Fang and Ch'êng, in two cases jointly; four belong to the Ch'ien Lung

period (1736-1796); a set of sixty-four is dated in the reign of Chia Ch'ing (1796-1821); the remaining ones may be assigned to the late nineteenth century. With the exception of one late nineteenth-century specimen, oblong shaped, with a representation of the spirit of ink on one side and an inscription on the other, all the tablets may be considered as coming under the class made primarily for preservation.

The set of sixty-four pieces is probably the largest set ever made. It was made at the order of Emperor Chia Ch'ing by the Chien Ku Chai, the firm name of a family of ink makers founded by Wang Chin-shêng in the early part of the eighteenth century, to commemorate the studios, pavilions, towers, etc., in the imperial palaces and villas, such as the Sea Palaces, the Forbidden City proper, the Old and the New Summer Palace, and the Deer Park. Each ink tablet represents some one scene, usually an architectural unit by itself, but occasionally we find a chamber represented or a particularly fine view that may be obtained from a certain point along a veranda. Pictorial representation is the rule, but there are a good many themes that are suggested by some symbol, as, for instance, the picture of a harp for a studio which derived its name from an old harp stored in it, or the representation of a studio known as the Ancient Fragrance Studio by an old bronze incense burner against a background of lotus flowers. The shapes of the tablets are extremely irregular and have been determined entirely by the themes. The name of the artist is nowhere given, but we may safely presume that he must have been one of the court painters, since we know that several sets of ink made for Emperor Ch'ien Lung by the same Chien Ku Chai were designed by the court painter P'êng Yüan-jui. Besides high artistic value, this set has decided historical interest because the pieces illustrate the very architectural units of the Imperial Palaces that have been and are being subjected to the most change or destruction. To give but one instance—the Old Summer Palace was destroyed by the Allied Expeditionary Forces of Great Britain and France in 1860. At least seventeen of the sixty-four pieces

represent scenes in this historic villa; they may prove to be of great value to students of the imperial architecture of the Ch'ing dynasty.²

WANG CHI-CHEN.

RECENT ACCESSIONS IN THE CLASSICAL DEPARTMENT

Three important acquisitions for the Classical Department are shown this month in the Room of Recent Accessions.

The new piece just acquired by the Museum is an excellent specimen (fig. 1; height, $7\frac{3}{8}$ in. [18.7 cm.], width of plinth, $10\frac{1}{16}$ in. [27.8 cm.]), the second now in its possession and of the two by far the more important. The relief is not a new find, for it was known to have been in the hands of antiquaries in Paris twenty-six years ago, but it had since disappeared and been listed as lost in recent publications.¹ The Museum acquired it from a private collector.

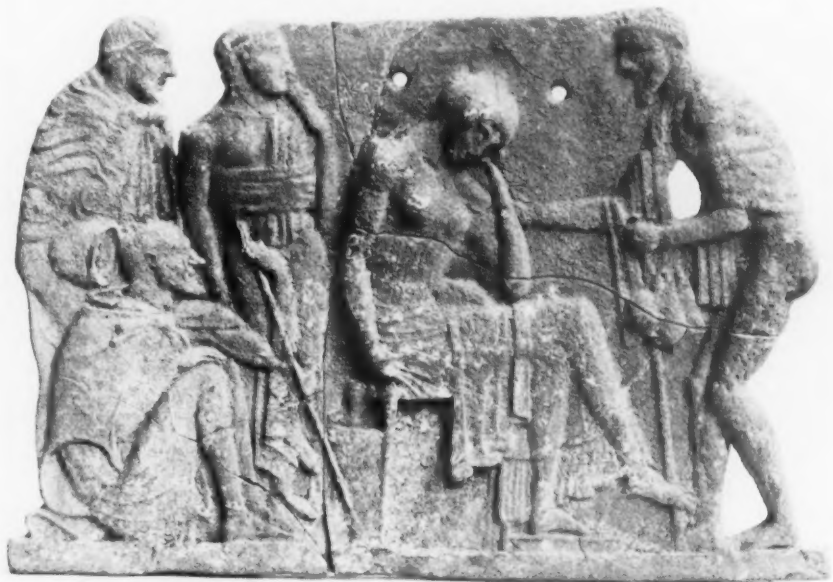


FIG. 1. "MELIAN" RELIEF, FIRST HALF OF V CENTURY B.C.

1. A "Melian" Relief. Among the most attractive Greek products in terracotta are the so-called Melian reliefs (some are said to have been found in Melos) of the first half of the fifth century. The famous examples in the British Museum—Bellerophon on Pegasus, "Sappho and Alkaios," and Peleus Seizing Thetis—belong to this class.

² A more detailed study of the origin of Chinese ink and a discussion of the greatest ink makers will be found in *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, volume III, part 1. A complete list of the scenes represented in the set of sixty-four ink tablets will appear in a later issue of the same publication.

The subject represented is the Return of Odysseus. To the right is Odysseus scantily clothed, in the guise of a beggar, leaning on a stick, his few possessions (wallet, oil

¹ Müller, *Die antiken Odyssee-Illustrationen* (1913), p. 83, fig. 7; *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, vol. XXIX (1914), p. 110, fig. 3; Bieber, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, vol. 23/24, 1919, p. 458; Furtwängler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Text, vol. III, p. 117, fig. 60 (Buschor); Jacobsthal, *Die Melischen Reliefs*, p. 67, no. 88, pl. 50 (in press). I am indebted to Dr. Jacobsthal for sending me the proofs of his text dealing with our relief together with photographs of reliefs related to it, including the unpublished Berlin example mentioned below.

bottle, and gourd?) suspended from his arm. He is grasping the arm of Penelope, who sits with bowed head in an attitude of mourning, her wool-basket under her chair. Behind her are her son Telemachos, starting back in surprise at the sight of his father; the herdsman Eumaios, sitting on the ground, in the manner of humble folk, eagerly watching the scene; and Laertes, supporting himself on his stick, looking



FIG. 2. RED-FIGURED LEKYTHOS, ABOUT 430 B.C.

quietly on in the detached way of the aged. The whole epic of the return of Odysseus to his home is thus brought before us, not in any one particular incident as told in the *Odyssey*, but in Greek fashion as an integral whole. The chief participants are combined in one picture, each in a characteristic attitude.

Two of the figures on our plaque, Odysseus and Penelope, occur also on several other "Melian" reliefs—in Paris, Berlin, Munich, and Geneva; but of these only one, in Berlin, is comparable to ours in preservation² and quality. In fact, a comparison between the two shows that both were made

from the same mold. The chief difference is that in the Berlin example the whole background has been cut away, whereas in ours only two small pieces between the arms and legs of Odysseus have been removed. The interest of our piece is greatly enlarged by the addition of the three other figures, each finely conceived, together completing the composition in a satisfactory manner. The figure of Eumaios, sitting with his legs drawn up in unconventional attitude, clearly a servant in aristocratic company, is one of the most vivid renderings of its period.

The date of the plaque is about 460 B.C., contemporary with the marble relief of Penelope in the Vatican and a little earlier than the famous vase in Chiusi with Penelope sitting by her loom. In both these representations Penelope is shown as in our relief with head bowed and supported on one hand, the accepted attitude of mourners at that time. Whether the pose originated with Penelope or with a funeral figure, as has been claimed, is difficult to decide, for Penelope was after all a mourner *par excellence*.

The figures are finely modeled with an able treatment of planes and considerable knowledge of perspective. To place Eumaios in front of Laertes and Telemachos and make the group convincing in spite of the low relief was an achievement in this experimental period.

Traces of the original colors with which our relief was once gaily painted are still preserved: a white engobe over the whole surface; blue on the plinth and the background with a pink band along the top; brownish red on the skins of Eumaios, Telemachos, and Odysseus; blue on the drapery of Telemachos; red on the mantle of Penelope; dark brown on the hair of Telemachos and that of Odysseus; deep yellow on the hair of Penelope; light yellow on Penelope's chair and Odysseus's stick and on the background near these (evidently washed there from the chair and stick), also at the end of Laertes's beard (evidently

² Our relief is complete except for a small fragment in front of Eumaios's feet. It has been broken into seven pieces and put together. The surface is incrustated in places.

washed there from his stick). The band by which Eumaios's hat was attached must have been indicated by color only, which has disappeared. The two holes near the top of the relief were not for suspension, because they are not centered, but for fastening into a background.

II. A Red-figured Lekythos. A little squat lekythos (fig. 2; height, 35 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. [9.8 cm.]) has on it a simple scene of a woman dressing, painted with such grace and finish that it becomes a great work of art. The woman, nude except for a kerchief on her hair and necklaces on her neck and thigh, is taking a chiton off a chair to slip it over her head; the chair has a cushion on it and between its legs is a footstool; behind the woman is a perfume vase. The artist of this delicate picture can be identified as the Eretria painter,³ so called after one of his masterpieces, the *epinetron* from Eretria in the National Museum, Athens.⁴ There too are painted indoor scenes of women in graceful attitudes, drawn with exquisitely fine lines. The subject is indeed one of the favorite themes of the master, and we feel it suited his style well. The quality of his work stands fairly uniformly high, but even so our lekythos can be classed as among his best products. Its date is about 430 B.C., a few years after the Parthenon pediments.

III. Vase in the Form of a Female Head. The Athenian potter besides fashioning his vases on the wheel occasionally made them from molds in the form of human or animal heads. But such plastic vases are seldom of a high order, for a good potter is not necessarily an able sculptor. Only occasionally, therefore, do we find a finely modeled head vase. Such a one is the new example ac-

quired by the Museum (fig. 3; height, 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. [16.6 cm.]). The upper part of the jug is missing, but the head itself is fortunately intact, except for some of the color which disappeared in the cleaning. As a piece of sculpture in terracotta of about 480 B.C. it takes its place, not unworthily though more modestly, with the latest of the Athenian maidens on the Akropolis. In J. D. Beazley's classification of head vases⁵ it may be placed in Group K, with the examples in



FIG. 3. VASE, ATHENIAN, ABOUT 480 B.C.

Toronto and Naples. It is modeled in the same vivid style and has the same painted fossettes at the corners of the mouth; also painted ears and earrings. The hair is done in a roll with applied dots, a favorite device of the period.

GISELA M. A. RICHTER.

³ Attributed by Beazley, *Vases in Poland*, p. 61, note 4.

⁴ Beazley, *Attische Vasenmaler*, pp. 420-430, and *Vases in Poland*, p. 61, note 4.

⁵ *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. XLIX (1929), pp. 38 ff.

ACCESSIONS AND NOTES

GIFTS AND BEQUESTS OF MONEY. The Museum has received from the estate of Emma B. Andrews the sum of \$25,000 and from the estate of Samuel D. Lee the sum of \$20,000. A contribution of \$100 toward administration expenses has been received from an anonymous donor.

THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION. Section II of this issue of the *BULLETIN* contains the report of the Egyptian Expedition for the season of 1929-30, in two parts: The Museum's Excavations at Thebes, by Herbert E. Winlock, and The Work of the Graphic Branch of the Expedition, by N. de G. Davies, with numerous illustrations.¹

A TIMELY SUGGESTION. A variety of Christmas gifts and greeting cards may still be found at the Information Desk, where last-minute shopping may be accomplished without haste or confusion. Prompt attention is given also to mail orders. Our booklet of Christmas suggestions is helpful in making selections.

MEMBERSHIP. At a meeting of the Board of Trustees, held November 17, 1930, Theodore M. Davis was declared a Benefactor. The following persons, having qualified for membership through their contributions, which, with all fees so received, are applied to the cost of Museum administration, were elected in their respective classes: **FELLOWSHIP MEMBER,** James Gibbs; **SUSTAINING MEMBERS:** Mrs. William B. Backer, Mrs. Vernon Booth, Arthur R. Botham, Mrs. Jeanette von Bremen, Mrs. W. J. Curtis, A. S. Drey, Mrs. Thomas Ewing, Jr., Mrs. Hamilton Hadley, Mrs. Winston H. Hagen, Mrs. Philip M. Harder, Mrs. Lawrence Harriman, Mrs. Jay Holmes,

¹ Price, 50 cents.

Mrs. Sydney R. Inch, Mrs. E. Powis Jones, Jr., Miss Catherine Kramer, Mrs. Gertrude B. McCabe, Mrs. N. A. McMillan, Mrs. John F. MacLane, W. E. Ogilvie, Mrs. Harry Potter, Mrs. Robert Tally, Mrs. Chance Vought. **ANNUAL MEMBERS** were elected to the number of 163.

FRAGMENTS OF ROMAN SARCOPHAGI. A number of fragmentary reliefs from Roman sarcophagi, some of them acquired in recent years but not hitherto exhibited, have been placed in Cases 12 and 13 and on Pedestal 9 in the Vestibule of Wing K.¹ The sarcophagi of the Imperial period possess an archaeological value apart from their artistic interest, for, surviving in great numbers, they establish a sequence which is useful in the dating of Imperial sculpture as a whole. In the first half of the second century, when, under Christian influence, the Romans left off burning their dead, sarcophagi supplanted the cinerary urns; and they continued in use after Roman art itself became Christianized. They are usually decorated with narrative reliefs in which several episodes of a myth are combined to form a single composition.

A few of the more recent accessions may be mentioned as noteworthy. A part of a sarcophagus (Pedestal 9) can be dated perhaps within the principate of Hadrian (A.D. 117-138). It depicts the story of Orestes: the murder itself, with Furies flocking round; the shrine at Delphi, where the hero sought purification; the encounter with his sister Iphigeneia in Tauris; and the headlong flight of brother and sister after they had stolen the statue of Artemis. Other interesting fragments are the heads of two

¹ Those which are unpublished will be illustrated and described in the forthcoming issue of *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, vol. III, part 1.

barbarians from a battle scene, reminiscent of the Pergamene statues. On a third-century relief is shown the punishment of Marsyas, a composition derived from a famous Hellenistic statue group, known to us through Roman copies of the figures of Marsyas and the knife sharpener.

C. A.

REARRANGEMENT OF MUSEUM GALLERIES. Incidental to the dispersal of The H. O. Havemeyer Collection, for eight months on exhibition as a unit, the rearrangement of several galleries has been necessitated to permit the showing of the objects from the collection with other material of a similar kind. The principal changes in arrangement—most extensive in the collection of paintings and of Far Eastern art—are indicated in the following paragraphs.

In incorporating the French paintings hitherto in the permanent collection with the paintings of the Havemeyer bequest, Gallery C 25 has been added to the galleries devoted to this school. In it will be found the earlier French pictures, notably Poussin and Ingres. The next period, that of Courbet and Manet, is shown in Gallery A 21, and the Renoir, Monet, and Degas group is in Gallery A 20.

Gallery C 24 again holds English paintings, and Gallery B 19 European though with more of the academic French paintings than formerly. The Dutch, Spanish, and Italian paintings of the Havemeyer Collection will be found in the galleries appropriate to their schools and periods. For the time being the exhibition of modern drawings and water colors has had to be given up. The earlier drawings are still shown in Gallery C 31 B.

The Spanish and Italian maiolica in the Havemeyer Collection has been removed to Gallery K 29; the Renaissance sculpture to Galleries C 21 and 22; the mediaeval sculpture to Galleries C 18 and D 15. The Near Eastern ceramics are exhibited in Gallery E 7.

The changes in the Far Eastern galleries caused by the new installation of objects in the Havemeyer bequest are as follows: The porcelain and pottery collections in Galleries D 1, 2, 5, and 7 on the second

floor have been rearranged to accommodate the Havemeyer porcelains and Japanese pottery. This includes the space in D 1 which has for several years been used for the exhibition of loan collections. The Han, T'ang, Sung, and Yüan pottery from the Havemeyer Collection is exhibited with the early Chinese pottery in Gallery H 12. Gallery H 11, which is used ordinarily as a special exhibition room for Japanese prints and more recently for Chinese paintings, now houses the Japanese sculpture formerly in Galleries H 13 and 14; the Japanese makimona from H 14 are now in this gallery also, and several kakemona. Gallery H 13 is given up to Japanese paintings and lacquers from the Havemeyer Collection; the Japanese and Korean bronze mirrors, paintings, and lacquers formerly in this gallery have been taken off exhibition temporarily. The Japanese screens from the Havemeyer Collection are shown in Gallery H 14, replacing the screens ordinarily shown in this gallery and now off exhibition. A Japanese lacquer figure has also been taken off exhibition from this gallery.

PUBLICATION NOTES. It is a great pleasure to be able to announce the recent publication by the Museum and the Oxford University Press of *Animals in Greek Sculpture*,¹ by Gisela M. A. Richter. This is a survey which grew out of the chapter on animals in Miss Richter's earlier book, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, for the material then collected proved too extensive to be adequately treated in a single chapter. The result is a work of admirable freshness and charm and one which presents a wealth of authoritative data on a fascinating subject which has hitherto been singularly neglected. The table of contents reveals a surprising variety of animals represented in Greek art. As Miss Richter explains in her preface, much material had to be omitted and the problem of selection was a difficult one. Preference has been given to examples possessing the greatest artistic merit and to those which best illus-

¹ *Animals in Greek Sculpture: A Survey*, by Gisela M. A. Richter, Litt.D. London, 1930. Octavo. xii, 87 pp., 66 pl. (236 fig.), and 10 ill. in text. Bound in cloth. Price, \$10.00.

trate sequence in development, since the book was intended to show a selection of the best available Greek representations of animals and to trace wherever possible the stylistic development in these representations. A section is devoted to each animal studied, and the numerous illustrations included in the volume add greatly to its usefulness and attractiveness.

Metropolitan Museum Studies enters the third year of its publication with the appearance of Volume III, Part 1, which will go to subscribers some time this month. The articles included in this number, written by members of the Museum staff and several other scholars, are as follows:

Two Egyptian Torsos from the Main Temple of the Sun at El 'Amarneh, by Caroline Ransom Williams; The Origin of Tapestry Technique in Pre-Spanish Peru, by Philip Ainsworth Means; Unpublished Fragments of Roman Sarcophagi in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, by Christine Alexander; Two Leaves from a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript of the *Rasikapriyā*, by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy; Notes on Chinese Ink, by Wang Chi-chen; Veronese's Alterations in His Painting of Mars and Venus, by Alan Burroughs;

Notes on Renaissance Cameos and Intaglios, by Ernst Kris; Goniá, by Carl W. Blegen; A Monumental Catalan Wood Statue of the Fourteenth Century, by James J. Rorimer.

Writing in the New York Times of July 13, Elisabeth Luther Cary commented as follows on the exhibition of masterpieces from the print collection. Her estimate is especially interesting in connection with the recent publication of *Notes on Prints*, a book which reproduces many of the prints and labels from this showing. "This exhibition moves forward," she writes, "from the Master E. S., from Martin Schongauer, from Dürer, from Lucas van Leyden and on through a succession of masters, each of whom has a distinguishing characteristic which is given with point and wit in descriptive labels probably the most enlightening and remarkable that ever adorned a public exhibition. The student who is not merely a student of technical quality and difference in mediums, but a student of the human element in art as well, can learn almost all that is important to know concerning these masters from the few square inches of label accompanying the work of each."

LIST OF ACCESSIONS AND LOANS

OCTOBER 6 TO NOVEMBER 5, 1930

ANTIQUITIES—CLASSICAL

Vase in the form of a female head, Attic, early V cent.; red-figured lekythos, Attic, abt. 430-420 B.C.; terracotta "Melian" relief, the Return of Odysseus, Greek, abt. 460 B.C.†

Purchase.

ANTIQUITIES—EGYPTIAN

Objects (57) from Thebes, including red granite kneeling statues (2) of Hat-shepsūt (to one of which belongs the head procured by exchange from Berlin), XVIII dyn.; black granite seated statue of Hat-shepsūt, XVIII dyn.; objects from the burial of Queen Meryet-Amūn, XVIII dyn., including large baskets (4) and a small palm-leaf basket, linen shawls and bandages,

† Recent Accessions Room (Floor I, D 8).

mummified meats, pottery, etc.; objects from the burial of the Princess Entiu-ny, XXI dyn., including the set of coffins, the papyri (2), shawabti boxes (5) with their shawabtis, wig, pectoral, pottery, etc.; wooden "rishi" coffins (4), XVII dyn.; an anthropoid coffin, wood, XXVI-XXX dyn.; embalmer's wooden bed and pottery, XXVI-XXX dyn.; mummy and woven turbans (2) from similar mummies, Roman period (Third Egyptian Room or *). *Excavations of the Museum's Egyptian Expedition.* Inscribed pottery cones (183), from Thebes, XVIII-XXVI dyn.*

Gift of N. de Garis Davies.

Scribe's palette, green slate, from Lower Egypt, XVIII-XIX dyn.; toilet spoon, steatite, prov-

* Not yet placed on exhibition.

BULLETIN OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

ince unknown, Empire; model of a weaving shop, wood, found near Girgeh, Upper Egypt, Middle Kingdom.*

Anonymous Gift.

ARMS AND ARMOR

Copper coin, Roger I, Duke of Sicily, showing Norman knight with banner on horseback, Italian, 1072-1101 (Floor I, H 9).

Gift of C. Davies Sherborn.

Shield, German, XIV cent.*

Gift of Clarence H. Mackay.

BOOKS—THE LIBRARY

Gifts of The Architectural Forum, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires, Christie, Manson and Woods, Detroit Institute of Arts, The International Nickel Company, Inc., Little, Brown, and Company, The New York Historical Society, Mrs. Edith Valerio.

CERAMICS

Vase, Sasanian, II-III cent.; vase and bowls (2), found at Rhages; bowl, found at Amol; ewer and pilgrim bottle, found at Saveh, IX-XIII cent.,—Persian; dish, Egypto-Arabic, XIII-XIV cent.*

Gift of the late V. Everit Macy.

Brush back, faience, decorated in imitation of XVII cent. Delft pottery, modern French falsification.*

Gift of A. Vecht.

COSTUMES

Costume, embroidered, Greek Islands, XVIII cent.†

Gift of George D. Pratt.

CRYSTALS, JADES, ETC.

Box, white jade inlaid with jewels, Indian, XVIII cent.†

Anonymous Gift.

GLASS (OBJECTS IN)

Fragments (3) of lustered glass, Egypto-Arabic, XI cent.*

Gift of the late V. Everit Macy.

Hanging light, blue Stiegel glass, American, third quarter of XVIII cent. (American Wing).

Gift of Mrs. J. Insley Blair.

LACES

Cuffs (2) and parts (2) of a collar, needlepoint lace, Venetian, middle of XVII cent.; collar, needlepoint lace, Burano, late XVIII cent.,—Italian.†

Gift of Mrs. Edward Luckemeyer.

LEATHERWORK

Figures (2) in cut leather, actors in *wayang* play, Javanese, XIX cent.†

Gift of A. Vecht.

LENDING COLLECTIONS

Lantern slides (62) of tapestries, furniture, etc. *Gift of Miss Louja Raiane Lequin.*
Photographs (57) of miscellaneous painting, sculpture, and architecture.

Gift of Miss Anita Reinhard.

METALWORK

Collection of bronzes (19) consisting of bracelets, mountings, ornaments, and parts of bits, Iranian, abt. VI cent. B.C.*

Purchase.

Bronze ornament, Egypto-Arabic, XI cent.; bronze vase, Persian, XII cent.*

Gift of the late V. Everit Macy.

Chamberlain's key, steel, English, late XVII-early XVIII cent.†

Gift of H. A. E. and Paul C. Jaebne.

MINIATURES AND MANUSCRIPTS

Miniatures (2): portrait of a gentleman and portrait of a lady, English, early XIX cent. (Floor II, C 31A).

Gift of Mrs. Sherwood Eddy.

PHOTOGRAPHS—THE LIBRARY

Gift of Mitchell Samuels.

PRINTS AND ILLUSTRATED BOOKS—DEPARTMENT OF PRINTS

Gifts of anonymous donor (7), William E. Baillie (12), Jean Charlot (247), Miss Lucille Douglass (6), Count René d'Harnoncourt (1), Miss Eleanor M. Homer (1), Lowell Houser (2), Mrs. Bella C. Landauer (147 prints, 2 books), Gabriel Fernandez Ledesma (2 prints, 1 book), Mrs. Florence D. R. Lothrop in memory of her brother, Henry Ravell (15), Mrs. Leonora Morton (3), Frances Flynn Paine (3), Hobson Pittman (2), Ralph Pulitzer (253), Lessing J. Rosenwald (1), Carl Ziegrosser (4).

Prints (278), books (17), ornament (81 prints, 67 books).

Purchase.

REPRODUCTIONS

Rubbings (66) of military brasses, English, XIII-XVI cent.; rubbings (166) of memorial brasses, ecclesiastical and secular, English and Flemish, XIII-XVIII cent.*

Gift of W. Francklyn Paris and Frederick J. Wiley.

SCULPTURE

Tombstone, carved stone, found at Hamadan, Persian, XI-XII cent.*

Gift of the late V. Everit Macy.

Medallion, stucco, Persian, XII cent.†

Gift of N. M. Heeramanek.

TEXTILES, ETC.

Stamps (5) for block printing, XI-XV cent.; panel and fragments (19) of printed fabric, XIII-XVI cent.,—Egypto-Arabic.*

Gift of the late V. Everit Macy.

* Not yet placed on exhibition.

† Recent Accessions Room (Floor I, D 8)

BULLETIN OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Hangings (2), painted cotton, Indian, XVII cent.†

Purchase.

Pieces (9) of brocade, Russian, XVIII cent.†

Gift of George D. Pratt.

Pieces (6) of hand-blocked linen, American, third quarter of XVIII cent.*

Gift of Mrs. Robert W. de Forest.

Hanging, damask, Empire design, French, early XIX cent.†

Gift of Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte.

WOODWORK AND FURNITURE

Panels (3) and fragment of a comb, carved wood, Coptic, VI-VII cent.; panels (8), carved wood, IX-XIV cent.,—Egypto-Arabic.*

Gift of the late V. Everit Macy.

Picture frame, gilded wood, American, 1853.*

Gift of Mrs. F. Livingston Pell.

GEMS

Cameos (5), sardonyx and agate, Italian, XVI-XIX cent. (Floor II, K 26).

Lent by Milton Weil.

PAINTINGS

Portrait of Mrs. John Peter Van Ness, by Gilbert Stuart, American, 1755-1828 (American Wing).

Lent by Carroll Van Ness.

WOODWORK AND FURNITURE

Dressing table, inlaid mahogany, American, late XVIII cent. (American Wing).

Lent by Henry F. du Pont.

Window seats (2), from the workshop of Duncan Phyfe, American (New York), early XIX cent. (American Wing).

Lent by Mrs. J. Insley Blair.

* Not yet placed on exhibition.

† Recent Accessions Room (Floor I, D 8).

CALENDAR OF CURRENT EXHIBITIONS

DECEMBER, 1930

LOAN EXHIBITION

Third International Exhibition of Industrial Art: Decorative Metalwork and Cotton Textiles	Gallery D 6	December 2 through December 28
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TEMPORARY DEPARTMENTAL EXHIBITIONS

Early Italian Engravings	Galleries K 39-40	November 16 through December
Peruvian Textiles	Gallery H 15	November 10 through March 31, 1931
French Painted and Embroidered Silks of the Eighteenth Century	Gallery H 19	October 12 through January 18, 1931
Loan Exhibition of Japanese Sword Furniture	Gallery H 101	June 8 through December 14
Prints—Selected Masterpieces	Gallery K 41	March 11, 1929, until further notice

CALENDAR OF LECTURES

DECEMBER 16, 1930-JANUARY 18, 1931

LECTURES FOR MUSEUM MEMBERS

DECEMBER		HOUR
20	Story-Hour for Younger Children of Members. With the Lord of Misrule at a Yuletide Revel. Anna Curtis Chandler.	10:15
27	Story-Hour for Younger Children of Members. A Night with Haroun al Raschid, Caliph of Bagdad. Anna Curtis Chandler.	10:15
JANUARY		
3	Story-Hour for Younger Children of Members. Merry, Merry Days of Robin Hood. Anna Curtis Chandler.	10:15
5	Gallery Talk. Nineteenth-Century French Painters: Modern Painters among the Old Masters (Group 1). Edith R. Abbot.	3:30
6	Gallery Talk. Nineteenth-Century French Painters: Modern Painters among the Old Masters (Group 2). Edith R. Abbot.	3:30

BULLETIN OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

JANUARY

	HOUR
9 Gallery Talk. The Spirit of the Middle Ages as Shown by Masterpieces in the Museum: The Evolution of Church Art. James J. Rorimer.....	11:00
10 Story-Hour for Younger Children of Members. Magician and Giant of Artists: Leonardo and Michelangelo. Anna Curtis Chandler.....	10:15
10 Gallery Talk for Older Children of Members. Aegean and Classical Art. Eleanor W. Foster.....	11:15
12 Gallery Talk. Nineteenth-Century French Painters: David and Ingres (Group 1). Edith R. Abbot.....	3:30
13 Gallery Talk. Nineteenth-Century French Painters: David and Ingres (Group 2). Edith R. Abbot.....	3:30
16 Gallery Talk. The Spirit of the Middle Ages as Shown by Masterpieces in the Museum: Gothic Sculpture. James J. Rorimer.....	11:00
17 Story-Hour for Younger Children of Members. An Adventure in Nuremberg Castle. Anna Curtis Chandler.....	10:15
17 Gallery Talk for Older Children of Members. Aegean and Classical Art. Eleanor W. Foster.....	11:15

FREE PUBLIC LECTURES

(Announced by Date and Subject)

DECEMBER

	HOUR
17 Radio Talk, WNYC: The Special Exhibition of Industrial Art, by Huger Elliott.....	7:15
18 Radio Talk, WRNY: The Loan Exhibition of Decorative Metalwork and Cotton Textiles. Huger Elliott.....	11:45
20 Radio Talk, WOR: A Colonial Silversmith. Huger Elliott.....	12:15
20 French Gardens, Old and New. Marie de Mare.....	4:00
21 Concert of Music for Viole d'Amour and Contrabass. Thaddeus Rich and Anton Torello.....	4:00
27 Radio Talk, WOR: The Art of the Potter. Huger Elliott.....	12:15
27 Florence and Siena in Late Mediaeval Times. Franco B. Averardi.....	4:00
28 English Domestic Architecture. Eliza Newkirk Rogers.....	4:00

JANUARY

3 Radio Talk, WOR: Mediaeval Tapestries. Huger Elliott.....	12:15
3 The Illustrators of Dante. Giuseppe Prezzolini.....	4:00
4 The French Formal Garden. Aline Caro-Delvaile.....	4:00
7 Radio Talk, WNYC: The Jewels of a Princess of Egypt. Huger Elliott.....	7:15
10 Radio Talk, WOR: The American Wing. Huger Elliott.....	12:15
10 Christian Symbolism. Edith R. Abbot.....	4:00
11 Ingres. Royal Cortissoz.....	4:00
15 Radio Talk, WRNY: Our Debt to Greece. Huger Elliott.....	11:45
17 Radio Talk, WOR: The Loan Exhibition of Russian Icons. Huger Elliott.....	12:15
17 Expressing the Machine Age in Painting and Sculpture. Thomas Munro.....	4:00
18 Degas. Royal Cortissoz.....	4:00

FREE PUBLIC LECTURES

(Announced by Courses)

Yale Cinema Films Showings: Chronicles of America Photoplays, Tuesdays, December 16, January 6, at 2 p.m.

Museum Cinema Films Showings, Thursdays, December 18, January 8, 15, at 2 p.m.

Story-Hours for Boys and Girls, by Anna Curtis Chandler, Saturdays, December 20, 27, January 3, 17, at 1:45 p.m.; Sundays, December 21, 28, January 4, 11, 18, at 1:45 and 2:45 p.m.; by Susan Scott Davis, Saturday, January 10, at 1:45 p.m.

Gallery Talks by Elise P. Carey, Saturdays at 2 p.m., Sundays at 3 p.m.

Gallery Talks by Katharine B. Neilson, Saturdays at 3 p.m.

Holiday Gallery Talks by Elise P. Carey, Thursday, January 1, at 11 a.m. and 3 p.m.

What Workers Have Wrought through the Ages (A Series of Open Discussions for Workers), by Katharine B. Neilson, Saturdays, December 20, January 10, 17, at 2 p.m.

Study-Hours for Practical Workers and for People of Various Interests, by Grace Cornell, Sundays, December 21, January 11, at 3 p.m.; by Cornelia B. Faraday, Sunday, January 4, at 3 p.m.; by Joseph Platt, Sunday, January 18, at 3 p.m.

Talks on the Concert Programs, by Thomas Whitney Surette, Saturdays, January 10, 17, at 5:15 p.m.

BULLETIN OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Incorporated April 13, 1870, "for the purpose of establishing and maintaining . . . a Museum and library of art, of encouraging and developing the study of the fine arts, and the application of arts to manufacture and practical life, of advancing the general knowledge of kindred subjects, and, to that end, of furnishing popular instruction."

LOCATION

MAIN BUILDING. Fifth Avenue at 82d Street. Buses 1-4 of the Fifth Avenue Coach Company pass the door. Madison Avenue cars one block east. Express station on East Side subway at Lexington Avenue and 80th Street. Station on Third Avenue elevated at 84th Street. Cross-town buses at 70th and 80th Streets.

BRANCH BUILDING. The Cloisters, 608 Fort Washington Avenue. Reached by the West Side subway or Fifth Avenue buses to St. Nicholas Avenue and 181st Street; thence west to Fort Washington Avenue and north ten blocks.

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Ten complimentary tickets a year, each of which admits the bearer once, on either Monday or Friday.

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The BULLETIN and the Annual Report.

A set of all handbooks published for general distribution, upon request at the Museum.

Contributing, Sustaining, Fellowship Members have, upon request, double the number of tickets to the Museum accorded to Annual Members; their families are included in the invitation to any general reception; and whenever their subscriptions in the aggregate amount to \$1,000 they shall be entitled to be elected Fellows for Life, and to become members of the Corporation. For further particulars, address the Secretary.

ADMISSION

MUSEUM GALLERIES and **THE CLOISTERS** free except on Mondays and Fridays, when a fee of 25 cents is charged to all except Members and those holding special cards—students, teachers and pupils in the New York City public schools, and others. Free on legal holidays. Children under seven at the main building and under twelve at The Cloisters must be accompanied by an adult.

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MAIN BUILDING and THE CLOISTERS:

Saturdays	10 a.m. to 6 p.m.
Sundays	1 p.m. to 6 p.m.
Other days	10 a.m. to 5 p.m.
Holidays except Thanksgiving & Christmas	10 a.m. to 6 p.m.
Thanksgiving	10 a.m. to 5 p.m.
Christmas	1 p.m. to 5 p.m.

American Wing & The Cloisters close at dusk in winter.

CAFETERIA:

Saturdays	12 m. to 5:15 p.m.
Sundays	Closed
Other days	12 m. to 4:45 p.m.
Holidays except Thanksgiving & Christmas	12 m. to 5:15 p.m.
Thanksgiving	12 m. to 4:45 p.m.
Christmas	Closed

LIBRARY: Gallery hours, except Sundays during the summer and legal holidays.

MUSEUM EXTENSION OFFICE: 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., except Sundays and legal holidays.

PRINT ROOM: Gallery hours, except Saturday afternoons, Sundays, and legal holidays.

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Members of the staff detailed for expert guidance at the Museum and at The Cloisters. Appointments should be made at the Museum through the Information Desk or, if possible, in advance by mail or telephone message to the Director of Educational Work. Free service to Members and to the teachers and students in the public schools of New York City; for others, a charge of \$1.00 an hour for groups of from one to four persons, and 25 cents a person for groups of five or more. Instructors also available for talks in the public schools.

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For special privileges extended to teachers, pupils, and art students at the Museum and at The Cloisters, and for use of the Library, classrooms, study rooms, and lending collections, see special leaflets.

Requests for permits to copy and to photograph should be addressed to the Secretary. No permits are necessary for sketching and for taking snapshots with hand cameras. Permits are issued for all days except Saturday afternoons, Sundays, and legal holidays. See special leaflet.

INFORMATION DESK

At the 82d Street entrance to the main building. Questions answered; fees received; classes and lectures, copying, sketching, and guidance arranged for; and directions given.

PUBLICATIONS

The Museum publishes and sells handbooks, colorprints, photographs, and postcards, describing and illustrating objects in its collections. Sold at the Information Desk and through European agents. See special leaflets.

CAFETERIA

In the basement of the main building. Open for luncheon and afternoon tea daily, except Sundays and Christmas. Special groups and schools bringing lunches accommodated if notification is given in advance.

TELEPHONES

The Museum number is Rhinelander 7600; The Cloisters branch of the Museum, Washington Heights 2735.

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART



FERRYING THE STATUES ACROSS THE NILE

THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION 1929-1930

SECTION II OF THE BULLETIN OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM
OF ART, NEW YORK, DECEMBER, MCMXXX

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THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
1930

THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION

1929-1930

THE MUSEUM'S EXCAVATIONS AT THEBES

IF DURING the last season the Expedition accomplished any one thing which stands out from the rest, it was the bringing together of some of the long and widely scattered pieces of the statues of *Hat-shepsût* of which so many had been unearthed in the preceding winters. The tale forms a sequel to the continued story whose instalments have been coming out in these reports, year by year, for the last three seasons.¹

The reader may recall how we had discovered that after the death of Queen *Hat-shepsût*, about 1479 B.C., her nephew and successor, *Thut-mosë III*, had ordered that all her statues in the temple of *Deir el Bahri* should be broken up and dumped into a near-by quarry. This quarry we had cleared slowly and methodically, carting away tons of the earth and sand and rocks with which the occasional cloud-bursts and the frequent windstorms had filled the hollow and the masses of rubbish dumped in on top by recent archaeologists, and underneath we had found and collected thousands of fragments of statues of granite, limestone, and sandstone.

One of our finds in the season of 1926-1927 had been the back of the head of a statue of hard, marble-like limestone, and not far away we had unearthed two elbows, a left forearm, and bits of a throne which seemed to belong with the head, and which suggested that we were on the track of a seated statue of the queen larger than life-size. In the following winter, digging about a hundred yards farther west, we had found the face and were in possession of what was

probably the most beautiful portrait of the queen among all the score or more of statues from the temple.² The quarry by now was completely cleared, and not another chip of this peculiar hard, marble-like stone had been found, but at just about this time we remembered a headless, seated statue which bore *Hat-shepsût's* name, in the Berlin Museum. In 1838 *Nestor l'Hôte* had seen and sketched it lying on the side of the quarry at *Deir el Bahri*, and in 1845 *Lepsius*, directing the great Prussian Expedition to Egypt, had taken it to Berlin. From the published descriptions it was apparently of the size, the material, and the pose of the statue from which our fragments came, and the notes of *Nestor l'Hôte* and *Lepsius* showed that both fragments and statue had come from very nearly the same spot. With so much for a start, we asked for more detailed information from Dr. *Heinrich Schäfer*, Director of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities in the State Museums in Berlin, and from him learned that the material of our fragments was identical with that of his statue. But, most important, the fragments which we possessed—the head, the elbows, the left forearm, and the corners of the throne—were lacking from the Berlin statue, and from Dr. *Schäfer's* sketches it was obvious that every bit which we had found might well be fitted on it. As soon as possible I went myself to Berlin with photographs of our head and fragments, and, once face to face with the statue there, I felt perfectly certain that we were dealing with one and the same monument. In the division of finds with the

¹ BULLETIN, February, 1928, section II, p. 44; December, 1928, section II, p. 3; and November, 1929, section II, p. 3.

² BULLETIN, November, 1929, section II, figs. 4-6.

Egyptian Antiquities Service at the end of our 1928-1929 season, the head and the other fragments fell to the share of the Metropolitan Museum, and last winter the head was exhibited in the Third Egyptian Room.

Among the other pieces brought by Lepsius to Berlin in 1845 there were two granite heads of Hhat-shepsût, and one of them he had recognized as belonging to a sphinx. We had found six granite sphinxes in vari-

Berlin head and of the body which we had found and made the composite picture published in the last report of the Expedition.³

The second Lepsius head obviously belonged to a colossal red granite kneeling statue of which we had found almost the entire body. In addition we had found the top of a tall Crown of Upper Egypt, pieces of the back pilaster, the tip of the nose, the chin, and part of the neck. That was just about what was needed to complete the



FIG. 1. UNLOADING THE TRUCK ON THE RIVER BANK OPPOSITE LUXOR TEMPLE

ous states of incompleteness and dilapidation, and as we had parts of his seated statue, there was, of course, a chance that we had parts of his sphinx. That was another thing which I had gone to Berlin to see. Again, one glance was enough. The nature of the stone, the size, and above all the breaks on the beard, the neck, and the sides of the headdress recalled immediately one of our headless sphinxes which we knew only too well from having tried to fit on to it one head after another of those which we had found in the field. To make more certain, however, we took photographs of the

head in Berlin, and again we made a composite photograph and again there was little doubt possible that the Lepsius find and ours completed each other.⁴

So much for the story as it stood when the last report of the Expedition was published. At that time it was not possible to state with certainty whether or not these statues were to remain separated between Berlin and New York merely because of the

³ BULLETIN, November, 1929, section II, figs. 7, 8.

⁴ BULLETIN, November, 1929, section II, figs. 9, 10.

THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION 1929-1930

accident that eighty-five years ago Lepsius had procured from the Arabs such pieces as then lay on the surface, and that the rest had remained deeply buried until we came along and dug the whole quarry out. Such accidents—and some of them far less excusable—have separated scores of mutilated works of art in the past, but for it to be admitted that such separations are final and forever hardly fits the modern way of

as could be gained from any single piece complete. M. Lacau, Director-General of the Antiquities Service in Egypt, had taken the same attitude and had assigned to our Expedition such fragments of sculpture as completed or were completed by other fragments in Europe, with the understanding that every effort was to be made to reunite as many as possible of these scattered statues.



FIG. 2. LOADING STATUES ON THE TRUCK AT DEIR EL BAHRI

looking at things. It smacks too much of the old-fashioned amateur—and just a bit of the collector of curios, to whom a meaningless scrap of rock becomes a treasure if it has been chipped off the corner of the Great Pyramid or fetched from the Great Wall of China. At least, to our intense mutual pleasure, Dr. Schäfer and I found each other feeling that way. As he expressed it, both as an archaeologist and as the director of a museum it seemed to him a shame that these things should be scattered in bits across the world with no one gaining from the fragments of the several pieces as much

The negotiations with Dr. Schäfer and with his colleague, Dr. Alexander Scharff, were of the pleasantest, without any beating about the bush, and almost immediately ended in a completely amicable arrangement. The Berlin Museum prized its sphinx head which had frequently been published as one of the outstanding things in its Egyptian collection. We set great store by our beautiful marble head, and the natural thing to do was to swap the two bodies. Thus, Berlin got a most imposing complete granite sphinx, and the Metropolitan Museum acquired a complete seated statue



FIG. 3. THE STATUE OF HAT-SHEPSÛT RESTORED

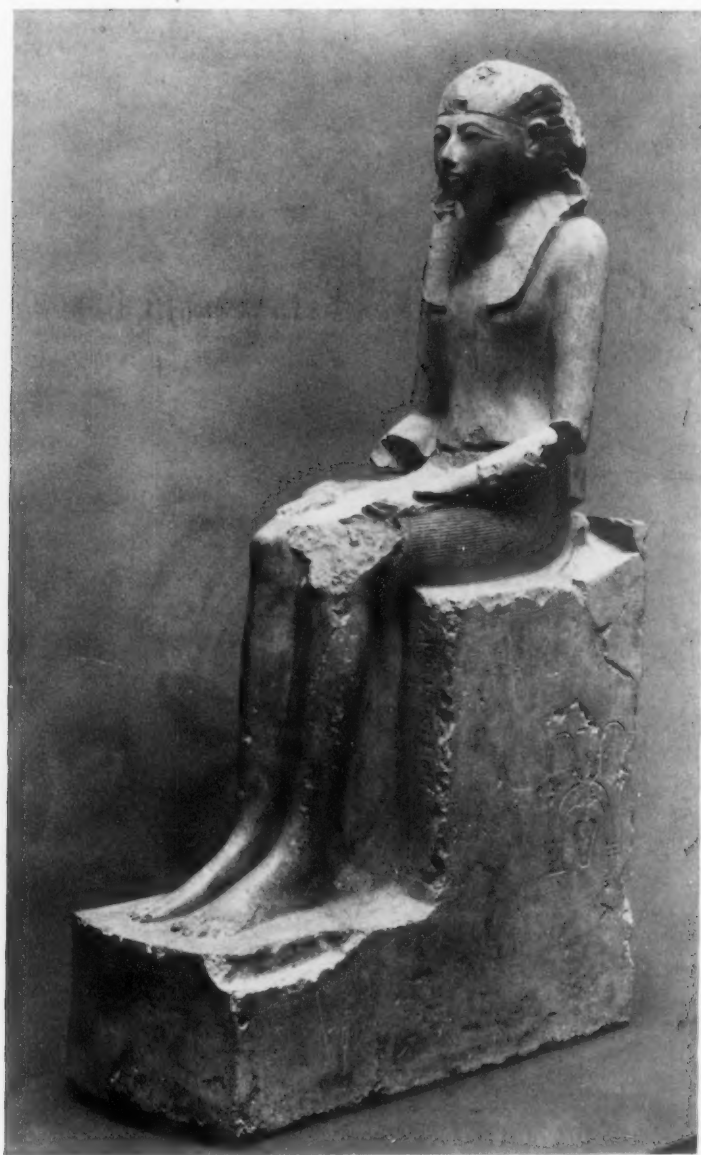


FIG. 4. STATUE OF HAT-SHEPSÛT FROM BERLIN WITH THE HEAD
AND FRAGMENTS FOUND BY US REPLACED

which will always be one of the prizes of its Egyptian Department. For the head of the big kneeling statue we already had in New York something which could be offered. In 1922-1923 we had found five practically complete small kneeling statues.⁵ Two had been retained by the Cairo Museum, and of our three one could well be called an equivalent of the head.

The Director and Trustees of the Metro-

whether the fragments would fit, but when even the last sliver from the tip of a nose clicked into place, something louder than the proverbial sigh of relief escaped me.

So it happens that the Metropolitan Museum is placing on exhibition a practically complete seated statue of Queen H \hat{a} t-sheps \dot{u} t (figs. 3 and 4).⁶ Since it was the only statue from Deir el Bahri of its creamy



FIGS. 5 AND 6. GRANITE HEAD FROM BERLIN WITH THE FRAGMENTS FOUND BY US REPLACED

politan Museum and the Prussian Minister of Education ratified these proposed exchanges, and during the past winter the sphinx and the little statue were shipped to Berlin, and the marble statue and the granite head were shipped to New York. Since then the work of putting together once more these long scattered fragments has gone on apace. I must confess to having felt considerable nervousness once the heavy stones had started on their respective ways. After all, it was only guesswork

⁵ BULLETIN, December, 1923, part II, pp. 32-33 and figs. 27, 28.

white, marble-like stone, and since it is by far the most beautifully carved of the temple statues, it is obvious that it must have been designed for a very important place—perhaps the center of the actual mortuary chapel of the queen herself. In any case, there is one very interesting point about it. H \hat{a} t-sheps \dot{u} t as a woman had no right to be a sovereign of ancient Egypt, and her portraits almost invariably show her in the guise of a bearded king. This fiction was preserved in all the bas-reliefs upon the Deir el Bahri temple walls and on all of the

⁶ H. 196 cm. (6 ft. 5 in.).

statues and sphinxes which lined the way traversed by the procession of the bark of Amūn on its journey to the sanctuary. Only two comparatively small seated statues have been found—one in black granite (fig. 7)

whether he could show her as the woman she was. He has given her the headdress and the short kilt of a man, but her face is beardless and has a charm which is distinctly feminine (figs. 15 A, B), and her body



FIG. 7. FRAGMENTS OF A STATUE OF HAT-SHEPSŪT AS A WOMAN

and the other in red—showing her with the figure and the dress of a woman, possibly because they may have stood in the shrine of the goddess Hāt-Hor. The marble statue would appear to be a compromise, as though it had been intended for some place where the artist had felt uncertain whether he must disguise his queen behind the beard and the rugged features of a man, or

—while not a woman's—is molded with a slenderness and grace in keeping with her features.

As for the granite head, the fragments belonging to it have been replaced, and it will be temporarily exhibited as it is, while the work of reassembling the body goes forward (figs. 5, 6). With its queer tall crown overtopping its face, the head may

seem ill proportioned at present, but this impression will be rectified once the big kneeling statue is reassembled to its full height of 272 cm. (8 ft. 11 in.). The head alone is a superb great thing—simplified almost to a fault, but this very economy of detail gives it the calm dignity appropriate to the row of eight such granite colossi which kneeling greeted the god Amūn on his visits to the temple. And, furthermore, it is

theory wrote to the Conservator of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leyden for help in running it down. He eventually discovered it in the Palace of Soestdijk near Utrecht and procured it for the Leyden Museum as a gift from the Queen Mother. That it is part of a statue found by us is absolutely certain, for a cast of it which was made by the Leyden Museum fits our pieces perfectly. Unfortunately, however, among



FIGS. 8 AND 9. THE HEAD OF A SPHINX OF HAT-SHEPSŪT WITH UNUSUAL FEATURES

one of the most typical of the standard portraits of Hat-shepsūt.

The satisfaction over the reuniting of these finds made by Lepsius is perhaps all the more acute after the failure of another similar attempt. The last report⁷ told how, in 1869, Prince Henry of the Netherlands had brought back to Holland as a souvenir of his trip to Egypt a red granite torso which he probably bought from the natives. It was seen in Holland shortly afterwards by Pleyte, who mentioned it in a short article, and then it disappeared entirely. We suspected that it belonged to one of our statues, and in an endeavor to test the

the several pieces of Hat-shepsūt sculpture which we offered to exchange for the original none tempted the authorities of the Leyden Museum, and it would seem that our statue must be restored in plaster, while one part lies on one side of the Atlantic and the rest on the other.

Meanwhile, the work of restoration and of assembling other fragments has been going on steadily. We believe that we have finished all that it is possible to do on the granite statues in the field. Among the pieces brought together during the past season was one of the two seated statues of Hat-shepsūt as a woman (fig. 7), probably from the Hat-Hor Shrine, but, unfortunately, of the head only one fragment has

⁷ BULLETIN, November, 1929, section II, pp. 8, 10-12 and figs. 11, 12.

THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION 1929-1930

been found. Of the sphinxes, the fragments of two gigantic creatures in red granite were sorted out, but neither one can be set up in the field. One will eventually go to Cairo and the other will come to the Metropolitan Museum. The much shattered head of still another sphinx is interesting chiefly as a further commentary on the dependability of Egyptian portraiture (figs. 8, 9). The face

Cairo sphinx—shown in the last report in photographs taken in the field—has also been restored with remarkable skill, and in justice to *Hat-shepsūt's* sculptors it is shown here again as it has been completed under the admirable direction of Mr. Engelbach, Keeper of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (fig. 10).

While work was proceeding on the statues



FIG. 10. SPHINX OF *HAT-SHEPSUT* IN CAIRO RESTORED

is an elongated oval, very narrow across the eyes, with an almost straight nose, in marked contrast to the wide-cheeked and small-chinned faces with high-bridged and curving noses of the standard portraits.

In Cairo and in the Metropolitan Museum the long task of restoration is going forward as fast as such work can go. Cairo's gigantic kneeling statue, having been broken into comparatively few pieces, has already been reerected and makes a most imposing monument (fig. 12). Our kneeling statues from the same row were shattered into uncountable pieces, and their restoration will take time (fig. 11). The

there was still a great deal to be done on other material from the previous season. We had discovered the tomb of Queen *Meryet-Amūn* in the spring of 1929 and by the end of the season had made our records of the position of everything as we had found it, had cleared the tomb out and had sent the coffins of the queen to the Cairo Museum. But her mummy, which we had unwrapped, her furniture, and the later mummy and coffins of Princess *Entiu-ny*, buried in the tomb in *Pay-nūdjem's* time, remained at Luxor, waiting until we should have a chance for photography and study. To this we devoted a good deal of time during the

past season, because it seemed advisable to prepare the material from the tomb for a detailed archaeological publication. It has been the hard and fast rule of our Expedition to defer any attempt to write the final scientific accounts of any phase of our discoveries until we felt a reasonable

only Eighteenth Dynasty royal tomb in our concession at Thebes, and the chances seem very slim of our making any similar discovery in future excavations. Therefore, we bent all our energies to preparing our final report on it, and the book is now near enough to completion for us to hope that it

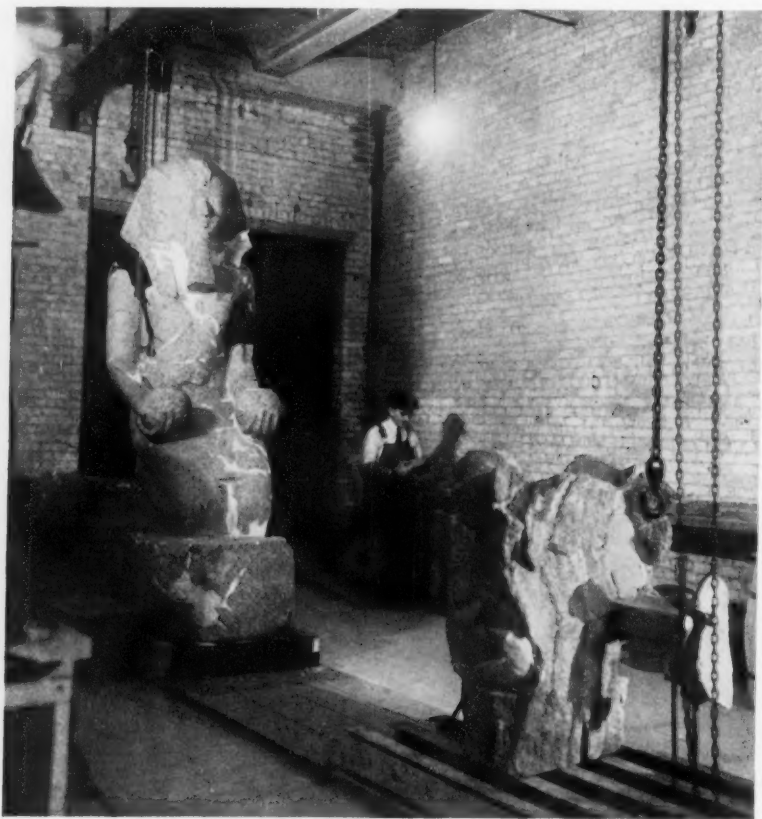


FIG. 11. STATUES OF HAT-SHEPSUT BEING REPAIRED IN THE MUSEUM SHOPS

certainty that our excavations would not bring forth any further related material. To some of our scholarly colleagues this has been a cause for criticism, but it is a criticism which we have borne, we hope, good-naturedly, feeling certain that our delays have been justified. Too often have the conclusions of one season been modified by a discovery of the next winter. However, the case of Meryet-Amūn seems to have been very different. Hers was probably the

can be put in press during the coming winter.

The story of our discovery of the tomb of Queen Meryet-Amūn makes up a large part of the report of the Expedition for 1928-1929. Some of our conclusions, there set forth, were frankly tentative, and we got a certain amount of natural satisfaction as we saw that our supplementary work of this past season tended to confirm our first ideas in all of their essentials.

Taking all the data which we had been



FIG. 12. KNEELING STATUE OF HAT-SHEPSÛT IN CAIRO RESTORED

able to collect last year from the tomb and from other monuments, we had concluded that Meryet-Amūn was a daughter of King Thut-mosē III, and that at the very end of his reign she had been the ranking princess of his family, taking precedence directly after the King's Great Wife, Meryet-Rē'. Before her father's death she had already been married to her brother, Amen-hotpe, who was to be her father's successor. It was a fiction of the time that the god Amūn was the father of each successive Pharaoh, and since it was expected that Meryet-Amūn would be the mother of Amen-hotpe's heir, she was married to Amūn and called the "God's Wife" from the time of her marriage to the future king. In due course Meryet-Amūn's mortal brother-husband, Amen-hotpe, was elevated to the dignity of co-regent with Thut-mosē III, and when the latter died in 1447 B.C. her husband,

Amen-hotpe, became King Amen-hotpe II and Meryet-Amūn the "King's Great Wife and Mistress of the Two Lands." The more prized title of "King's Mother" was never hers, however, and in a very few years Meryet-Amūn passed away and was buried in the tomb prepared for her at Deir el Bahri.

So much for what we could gather from the surviving historical data. The question was, would a careful examination of Meryet-Amūn's body make our conclusions any more or any less probable?

Dr. Douglas E. Derry, Professor of Anatomy in the Cairo Medical School and a colleague whose help we have so often had occasion to acknowledge in these reports,

came up to Luxor during the winter to help us once more. His visit coincided with one from Sir Arthur Keith of the Royal College of Surgeons, London, whose suggestions were—as one might expect—most inspiring. Together we made an examination of the body of the queen.

Meryet-Amūn was a delicately formed, graceful person, slightly below the average height of the known women of the Eight-

eenth Dynasty royal family. Her eyes were set wide apart under a broad, straight, intelligent forehead. Her nose had clearly been high bridged and well formed. Her chin was slender and pointed, and although it was receding, it was in nowise weak. In fact, if one desired to reconstruct a lifelike portrait of her from her mummy (fig. 14), one probably would arrive at something very close to the impression of Hāt-shepsūt which we get from the marble statue we have

just reconstructed with the Berlin fragments (fig. 15). But we know that Thut-mosē III bore a strong resemblance to his aunt Hāt-shepsūt, and if Meryet-Amūn did too, then the latter must have had exactly the appearance which we should expect in a daughter of Thut-mosē III. Then another point—Thut-mosē III was the second shortest out of nine Eighteenth Dynasty kings whose bodies have survived to our time, and yet—quite in keeping with his remarkable genius—his head was larger than that of any other member of his family. Now Meryet-Amūn was below the average in height among her woman relatives, but her magnificent, well-formed head was larger

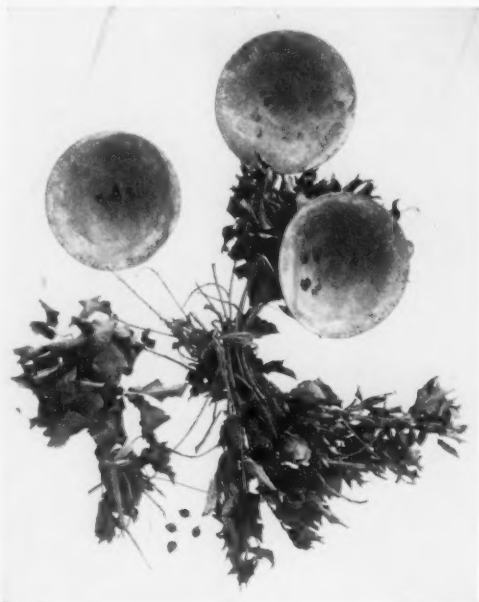


FIG. 13. PERSEA TWIGS AND DISHS FROM THE FOOT OF THE COFFIN OF MERYET-AMŪN

than that of any other queen or princess of the line whose body has survived. Again, this is just what we should expect of a daughter of Thut-mosē III, and we felt that our conclusions of the year before had obtained support. Naturally, we do not claim that family resemblances are in the nature of absolute historical proof, but if we are advancing the claim that Meryet-Amūn was the daughter of Thut-mosē, it is satisfying to find that she looked like him.

child of the marriage of Thut-mosē and Meryet-Rē', which would explain perfectly her position as the ranking princess of the court. Amen-hotpe II was another of their children—and thus a full brother of Meryet-Amūn—but he was a child of their later life, born perhaps twenty years after Meryet-Amūn.⁸ Of course, in dealing with the anatomy of human beings after they are twenty-five years old, it is very rare that an estimate of age can be made closer



FIG. 14. HEAD OF THE MUMMY OF MERYET-AMŪN

The next point of interest was the age of Meryet-Amūn when she died. So far as we could estimate, she seems to have been nearly fifty years old at that time, and if, as seems likely, she died between five and ten years after her father—say about 1440 B.C.—our estimate would put her birth close to 1490 B.C. That would have been the eleventh year of the reign of Thut-mosē III, when he was a young man in his early twenties, and about the time that Hātshepsūt's daughter, Nefru-Rē', the first wife of Thut-mosē III, had died. On the death of Nefru-Rē', Meryet-Rē' had taken her place as principal consort. Since Meryet-Amūn appears to have been a daughter of Meryet-Rē', she was probably the first

than within say five or ten years, but even making this allowance for the individuals involved here, our story of Meryet-Amūn will still hold.

In fact, the story appears to be perfectly plausible. Meryet-Amūn was born in the days when Sen-Mūt was building Queen Hātshepsūt's temple at Deir el Bahri, and her birth must have made sorry news for the old queen and her architect. The future of both of them was wrapped up in the little Queen Nefru-Rē', and that Meryet-Rē', the rival, should have given birth to the king's

⁸ According to Elliot Smith, *The Royal Mummies*, p. 36, Amen-hotpe II was about fifty years old at his death. Since he died in 1422 B.C., he was born somewhere around 1470 B.C.

first child could hardly have been welcome. Then came the end of Nefru-Rē', while the little princess, Meryet-Amūn, and her mother survived the ten remaining years of the régime of Hat-shepsūt and her favorite, Sen-Mūt, and lived on through the exciting and glorious years of her warlike father's freedom. When Meryet-Amūn was practically grown—we need not be too insistent, though, in our statement that she was exactly twenty—a boy was born to her father

report, how the tomb of Meryet-Amūn was discovered and robbed in the Twenty-first Dynasty, almost exactly four hundred years after her death. The necropolis officials had discovered the robbery—or more probably the two robberies—and they had done what they could to make good the damage. They had rewrapped the disheveled mummy and across its chest had recorded the date of their restoration—the 19th Year of King Pay-nūdjem, Month 3 of the Winter Sea-



FIG. 15A. HEAD OF THE PORTRAIT STATUE OF HAT-SHEPSŪT

and her mother, and this little brother was destined to be heir to the throne. The dignity of co-regent was conferred upon him when he in turn was approaching twenty, and, according to custom, the ranking daughter of his father became his queen, in order that the line should be kept wholly royal and divine. In this case, the lot fell to his sister, Meryet-Amūn, now a mature woman, years his elder. In fact, she was so many years his elder that she survived his accession but a little while, and then she herself passed away and her place was taken by Queen Ti'o, the mother of King Thut-mosē IV.

We have already told, in last year's

son, Day 28. Translated into terms of our calendar this would be fairly close to November 25, 1049 B.C., and in connection with this date an extremely interesting little point has developed.

Professor Percy E. Newberry, now of the Egyptian University in Cairo, was very kindly helping us by identifying the botanical specimens from the tomb. The restorers had laid at the foot of Meryet-Amūn's coffins on that day late in November in 1049 B.C. three little dishes and three bundles of persea twigs with a few half-ripe persea fruits still on them (fig. 13). On the mummy's breast they had tied garlands, and such was the marvelous preservation of the

THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION 1929-1930

flowers that some of them still retained a faint flush of color in their faded petals (fig. 18). Professor Newberry could point out, without any question, blossoms of the acacia, petals of the lotus and of the red field poppy, and leaves of the willow. Now the acacia tree blossoms just after the waters of the annual flood are off the land, in late November, and in Egypt the willow is then in leaf. The persea ripens today in Cairo in January. In Thebes it would have

Egypt, should be taken to Cairo, and in the Cairo Museum it has recently been decided that no longer are the royal bodies to be exposed to the gaze of the curious. Outside the tourist agencies there has never been any serious criticism of this ruling. No valid reason can be given in favor of exposing in a glass case the dilapidated frame of the great Pharaoh whose ire was enough to keep Moses exiled for years, or the shriveled remains of the other Pharaoh, his son, who



FIG. 15B. HEAD OF THE PORTRAIT STATUE OF HAT-SHEPSUT

ripened a little earlier and the end of November would have seen its fruits still green. Thus the date on the docket and the fruits and flowers together gave a neat and unexpected confirmation to the work of the modern chronologists who have been equating the ancient Egyptian calendar with our own. As for the poppy, in Egypt it should blossom in its wild state among the grain fields in March and not with the acacia just after the flood, but the poppy is easily grown in the garden at almost any time, and hence these from the tomb of Meryet-Amūn must be garden-grown poppies.

It was understood that the mummy of Meryet-Amūn, being that of a queen of

stood up so long against that same Moses when he returned to work the wonders taught him by Jehovah as a preliminary to the Exodus. We were in perfect sympathy with the ruling and not at all averse to Meryet-Amūn's being protected from the public eye; but completely wrapped up as we had found her, with the garlands on her breast and the docket of the old inspectors written across her shroud, she had been interesting without being in the least gruesome. We had saved every single linen bandage as we had taken it off, making careful notes of how she had been wrapped, and we decided to bandage the queen up once more exactly as we had found her. And

in doing it we had a very illuminating practical illustration of just how the ancient Egyptian had gone about his task. For one thing, we discovered that, in spite of the fact that some of the linen was now very frail and had to be handled with every care, the mummy could be rewrapped in one morning, and we feel quite sure that the restorers of the tomb of Meryet-Amūn could have done all that they did there between sunup and sundown on that Novem-

Amūn's beer (fig. 16). Analyzed by Dr. Johannes Grüss in Berlin this yeast turned out to be remarkably interesting. It was the same yeast that the Egyptians had been using since the Prehistoric Period, before 3400 B.C., when it had been a wild organism, full of impurities. Samples which we had sent to Dr. Grüss several years ago from tombs of about 2000 B.C. showed a better culture of the same yeast,⁹ but it was only with Meryet-Amūn's beer of 1440 B.C. that the yeast could be called pure. After two thousand years the Egyptian brewer had developed a culture almost comparable to



FIG. 16. MERYET-AMŪN'S BEER JAR

ber 25 of 1049 B.C. which they recorded as the date of their visit to the tomb.

The tomb of Meryet-Amūn had been very methodically plundered, and the Twenty-first Dynasty robbers had overlooked nothing of any value to them. Nearly everything gilt was carried off almost bodily, and to make any estimate of her funerary furniture we had to study mere chips and scraps dropped by the thieves. Not one single utensil of metal, and hardly a trace of alabaster, was left, but naturally pottery vessels of obsolete shapes were left behind as useless to the robbers. Among them we found a large amphora which still contained the yeasty sediment of Meryet-



FIG. 17. SMALL BASKET FROM THE TOMB OF MERYET-AMŪN

the modern, without the aid of the modern paraphernalia of microscopes and filters.

Empty pots were left and so were four-hundred-year-old baskets out of which the bottoms fell whenever the thieves moved them, but to us they give a remarkable picture of the homelier furnishings of an ancient Egyptian house. Little baskets decorated with rows of strange primitive ostriches (fig. 17) are strikingly like the baskets made in Edfu and in Nubia today and sold to the tourists in Aswān. Bigger ones, without any decoration, were the clothes baskets of three thousand five hundred years ago (fig. 19). It is from such intimate articles of the baggage of an Egyptian

⁹ Dr. Grüss first discovered the ancient yeast cells in these samples, and for that reason he named the organism *Saccharomyces Winlocki*.

lady on her voyage to the Underworld that we can piece together a picture of her life on earth.

It is interesting to find while on the subject of Meryet-Amūn that we in the Metropolitan Museum have two scarabs which must have belonged to officials of her household (figs. 20, 21). One, in the Ward Collection presented to the Museum by the late J. Pierpont Morgan, is inscribed "the King's Great Wife Meryet-Amūn," and the second, originally in the Amherst Collection and afterwards in the Carnarvon Collection presented by Edward S. Harkness, is inscribed "the Estate of Meryet-Amūn."

When, in November, 1049 B.C., the restorers of Meryet-Amūn's mummy had finished their work, they buried her tomb once more from the prying eyes of the necropolis thieves, and left it hidden for perhaps a score of years until it was opened again for the funeral of the King's Daughter Entiu-ny.

We had found Entiu-ny's mummy lying in her coffin (fig. 22), at her head a spare wig, remarkably preserved but almost solidified with the still sticky pomade in which it had been soaked (fig. 23), and over her breast a wreath of persea leaves and lotus petals. To unwrap the mummy carefully was clearly going to take more time than we could spare in the few busy weeks following the discovery of the tomb, and, therefore, we left it in its coffin until we had an opportunity to unbandage it. This winter we had the chance, and after a few

layers of linen had been removed, we found a papyrus folded several times over and over on itself and then laid across her thighs. More linen was removed, and then on her breast we found a blue faience amulet, on which was displayed a scarab with outspread wings (fig. 24). A little more, and we had uncovered the body and were ready for Dr. Derry's help.

Entiu-ny, we discovered, was a very

short woman — only 4 feet 10 inches tall, in fact — but she had been extraordinarily fat. At first glance she appeared to be weirdly and grotesquely young, but a very little further examination showed that she owed this look to the dyes her hairdressers had put on her scanty gray locks in life, and to the gruesome art of the undertakers who had filled out and painted her shrunken face after death. The truth is, she was about seventy years old when she died, and again we found that



FIG. 18. GARLANDS FROM THE BREAST OF MERYET-AMŪN

the anatomist and the archaeologist could work together to puzzle out details of history.

The inscriptions on Entiu-ny's funeral paraphernalia had informed us that she was a "King's Daughter," but they had not named the king, her father. It happened, however, that several years ago, but actually only a very few yards away, we had found the tomb of an aged Princess Henet-towy, the daughter of King Pay-nūdjem.¹⁰ Entiu-ny's coffins were so very much like Henet-towy's that we had concluded that Entiu-ny, since she was a King's Daughter,

¹⁰ BULLETIN, December, 1924, part II, p. 26; March, 1926, part II, p. 26.

must have been a daughter of the same Pay-nūdjem who was Henet-towy's father. Now Henet-towy had been a very fat, short little old woman, and Pay-nūdjem's son, Masaharty, the High Priest, had been a remarkably fat little man, and here was Princess Entiu-ny bearing a strong family likeness to the two whom we wanted to call her brother and her sister. Just as in the case of Meryet-Amūn, we realized that this could hardly be called proof of our historical theories, but at least it tended to make them reasonable.

The burial furniture of a Twenty-first

universe to which they were bound. This course of conduct was set forth in certain very old writings on scrolls of papyrus, which they might take along with them, to be memorized or consulted as occasion arose on the journey to the Underworld.

In the Twenty-first Dynasty the orthodox thing was to place on the mummy itself the "Book of Him who is in the Underworld," a sort of mystical guide containing a map and a description of that strange region under the earth, through which the sun must pass each night from the place of its setting back to where it was to rise

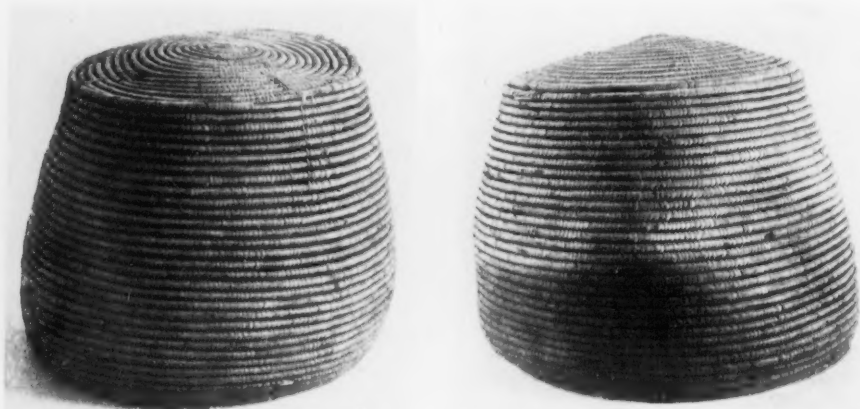


FIG. 19. MERYET-AMŪN CLOTHES BASKETS

Dynasty personage, even of Entiu-ny's rank, was never so elaborate as had been that of earlier times. There had been so many scandals in ancient Thebes, involving even the mayor and the district officials, that the Thebans had begun to realize how impossible it was for the dead to keep their treasures under a dishonest administration of the living. Furthermore, the subjects of King Pay-nūdjem were no longer sure of the usefulness of the furniture their ancestors had taken on the journey to the next world. They began to foresee a future in which the trappings of this life did not hold so important a place after all. They thought more and more of the need of learning the proper way to conduct themselves when they came into the presence of the multitude of strange gods, genii, and demons who made up the population of the uncanny

again. The dead, according to one belief, accompanied the sun, sailing with him in a bark towed by twelve parties of gods, each party taking it through one of the twelve night hours. The papyrus which we found on Entiu-ny's mummy bears the name of this book, but at best it is only an abridgment of the whole work, showing some score of uncouth demons, difficult to identify, with as many pictures of Entiu-ny's mummy alternating among them (fig. 25).

The second *vade mecum* for the journeyings of the dead was the "Book of the Going Forth by Day"—which in modern times we call the Book of the Dead. While "He who is in the Underworld" was placed on the body, a small hollow replica of the mummy in the guise of the god Osiris was provided in the Twenty-first Dynasty to hold the "Going Forth by Day."

The Osiris figure made for Entiu-ny was a little wooden statue 64.5 cm. high (25 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.), modeled with childish crudeness (fig. 26). Through a crack in the front we had been able to get a glimpse of the roll of papyrus inside, and when we turned the figure upside down there was a circular patch of wood in the base, held in place with plaster. Carefully prying this patch loose we exposed the end of the papyrus and easily slipped it out, almost as fresh and solid as the day on which it had been put there, nearly three thousand years ago



FIGS. 20 AND 21. TWO SCARABS OF MERYET-AMÜN IN THE MUSEUM

(fig. 27). In Egypt it was not advisable to unroll more than was needful to estimate the nature of the book inside. Once in New York, however, the task of opening the entire roll was undertaken. By leaving it overnight in a box with dampened cotton and letting the outer layers of the roll absorb moisture, in the morning we could unroll the first two or three feet, inch by inch. When the drier, inner layers were arrived at and the papyrus began to feel brittle and crackly, the unrolling was stopped and the damp box was placed over what remained of the roll until the next day. Thus, day by day and foot by foot, the great roll opened out to the end—564 cm. long (18 ft. 6 in.).

Entiu-ny's Book of the Dead is a very

important accession to the Metropolitan Museum's Egyptian collection. The examples of funerary papyri of the period of the



FIG. 22. THE MUMMY OF ENTIU-NY IN HER COFFIN

Empire which we already possessed were either very short abridgments or were sadly damaged, and here is an example reasonably full, in perfect condition, and of very good and characteristic execution. The

brilliance of the colors in the illustrations is astounding. The drawing is skilled and rapid, graceful, and absolutely typical of the period of the High Priestly régime in Thebes. Perhaps one of the most interesting things about the papyrus is the fact that it is obviously the work of two men. The more skillful of the two drew the illustrations and boldly sketched, in solid black characters, their titles. The texts of the chapters were then filled in by an appren-

the gods of the Osirian cycle, to provide the more material needs of the tomb, and to imbue the dead with the power of entering and leaving the tomb freely. Curiously enough, no definite canon seems to have been drawn up by the rather loose-thinking Egyptians, who never absolutely fixed the number or the order of the chapters, and who left to the professional copyists almost complete freedom in their selections. To be sure, certain chapters were usually recognized as more important than others, but the number of them in any given example seems to have depended entirely on how much one wanted to pay for a copy of the



FIG. 23. ENTIU-NY'S WIG

tice, whose hand was far less sure and whose knowledge of the sacred writings was not entirely faultless. This was an eminently human division of labor, for although the texts were the whole sum and purpose of the papyrus, they were likely to be taken more or less for granted by the purchaser, who was expected to judge her acquisition by the charm of the delightfully fresh and pleasing drawings. And it is a fortunate division for us whose interest in Egyptian dogmas is more difficult to arouse than our ever lively interest in Egyptian art.

The "Book of the Going Forth by Day" was a very large collection of spells designed to help the dead justify themselves before



FIG. 24. ENTIU-NY'S PECTORAL

book. Thus, Entiu-ny's scroll contained ten chapters with the appropriate illustrations to seven,¹¹ but for fourteen others she got only the illustrations without the text.

The papyrus starts at the extreme right, now that it is unrolled, with the judgment of the dead. Entiu-ny, with flowers on her head, a golden sistrum in her hand, and a tall incense brazier in front of her, stands at the door of the "Hall of the Two Truths" within which the forty-two judges of the dead hold session (fig. 29). She calls upon each judge by name and to each one individually repudiates some sin—either a fault of impurity or of dishonesty—and the

¹¹ The chapters have been numbered by modern scholars—not by the ancient Egyptians. The ten full chapters in this example are 125, 38, 75, 113, 152, 132, 94, 71, 72, and 105, in that order.

names of the judges and of the sins she must deny are all set forth in tabular form for her direction. Beyond, in thirty-four vertical columns of hieroglyphics, is set forth the "Chapter of the Last Day of the Second Month of Prôt"—the judgment day—and into Entiu-ny's mouth is set a speech of justification addressed to the forty-two True Ones who dwell within the Hall, and even to the very bolts and hinges

throne, says to him: "Take her eyes and her mouth into thy charge, if her heart is righteous," at which Anubis, turning his head, replies: "Her heart is righteous."

This part of the Book of the Dead has always been of interest to the modern mind. To say the least, some of the forty-two commandments which must not be transgressed are peculiar, and many of them are trivial, but the whole conception of a formal

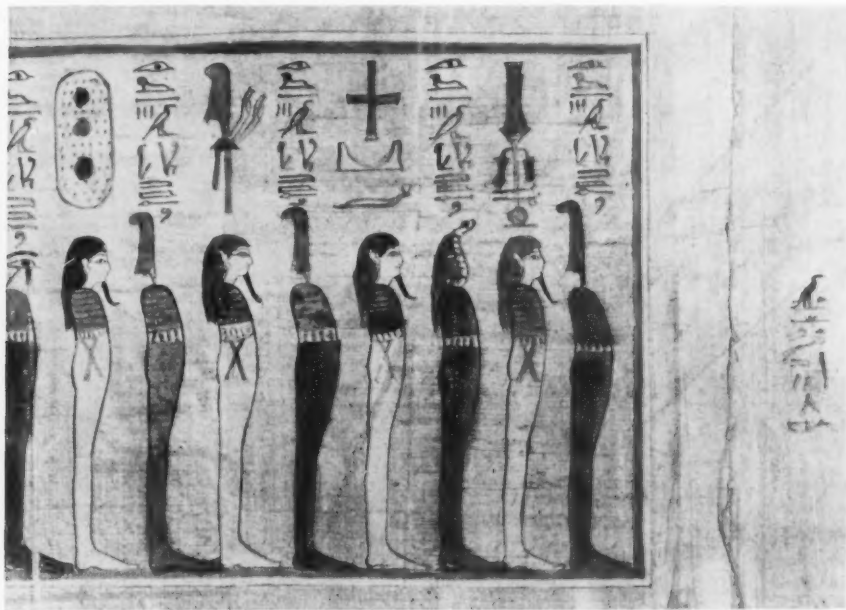


FIG. 25. A SECTION OF THE "BOOK OF HIM WHO IS IN THE UNDERWORLD"

of the doors, to the floor, and to the walls of the place of judgment.

We are to presume that Entiu-ny comes forth from the cross-questioning of the lesser gods clear of all blemish so far as they can see, for somewhat beyond we find her in the Hall of Osiris having her heart, her eyes, and her mouth judged by the great god (fig. 32). Isis, the "Mother of the God," stands sponsor for her, while she herself faces Osiris and holds out to him the hieroglyphics of eyes and mouth. Before her the jackal-headed "Anubis, who is in charge of the Scales of the Hall," weighs the heart of Entiu-ny in the balance against a figure of the Goddess of Truth. Osiris, from his

judgment of one's life and the striking parable of the weighing of the heart against a symbol of truth and honesty belong to a stage of man's moral development which was far from primitive.

In what follows there is perhaps less to strike a sympathetic note in our minds. "A spell for living on the breezes of the necropolis" and "A spell for going to Heliopolis to receive a seat therein" are the titles of the next two chapters, written in red. In the first, Entiu-ny identifies herself with the god of Heliopolis, Atūm, with a resulting happy and glorious state in the life to come, and in the second, she recounts her journeyings "from the ends of the earth" to Atūm's in-

nermost sacred shrine in the ancient and holy city. At this point we begin to notice a lack of coördination between the scribe who

the upper row, is the illustration showing her kneeling with upraised hands at the doorway of her seat in Heliopolis.

The next two chapters are closely related to the Egyptian necropolis. "A spell for a man not to be ferried across to the East," with a statement of the calamities which will overtake the gods if they do so ferry him, derives its inspiration from the



FIG. 26. OSIRIS FIGURE WHICH CONTAINED THE PAPYRUS

wrote the texts and the artist who drew the illustrations. In looking along the papyrus we have already passed Entiu-ny with the sail which signifies the breezes of the necropolis, standing by the back door of the Hall of the Two Truths, and near there, in



FIG. 27. PAPYRUS ROLLED, SHOWING THE TITLE

Egyptian's desire to be buried in the Western Desert. Following comes "A spell for the building of a house upon earth"—in other words, the tomb which the gods decree for Entiu-ny—describing it and endowing it with offerings for eternity. Here again the illustrations are scattered through the upper register. We have already passed the picture of Entiu-ny standing with upraised hands before the double façade of her tomb, behind which stand three "Lords of the

Houses of the West," and we have not yet arrived at the picture of the interior of the funeral crypt showing the mummy lying on the bier with its birdlike soul upon its

demands that they give her protection and provisions with which she will be able to break from the fetters of the tomb. Finally, the last chapter of this collection, "A spell



FIG. 28. PLOUGHING AND REAPING IN ELYSIUM

breast, and the wailing goddesses at its head and feet.

A chapter called "A spell for causing one to know oneself" is hardly any contribution to philosophy. In "A spell for asking for an ink jar and a palette," Entiu-ny addresses the hawk god, Harakhty, and tells him that she has the writing materials of Thôt, and that she uses them to copy down only what is right and good. The illustrations are over the scene of the weighing of the heart and show Entiu-ny adorning the divine palette upon a table, behind which sits the ibis-headed god, Thôt.

Next follow two "Spells for going forth by day and opening the Underworld" from which the whole book derives its name. They are queer, magical incantations in which the deceased calls upon the gods of the Underworld by name and tells them of her knowledge of them and of her ability to assume their attributes. Thus, having asserted her magic power over them, she

for opening the Underworld," empowers her and her soul to journey together through that region.

Of the remaining illustrations, for which

the texts are omitted from this papyrus, there is a delightful set of four little ones in the upper register toward the end representing Entiu-ny as a peasant on the estate of Osiris in the Elysian Fields. She drives a pair of cream-colored cows to the plough, cracking her whip over their backs. She cuts a luxuriant field of wheat, far taller than her own head, with a gold-colored sickle (fig. 28). She "rows the neshu-barque like Rē"—a green canoe which she paddles on the lakes of Elysium.



FIG. 29. ENTIU-NY AT THE GATE OF THE HALL OF JUDGMENT

And finally she guards a pile of yellow grain for her master, Osiris (fig. 31).

At the end of the papyrus there are two larger pictures showing Entiu-ny in the court of the Kingdom of the Dead. In the first the god Osiris sits enthroned, with his two sisters, Isis and Nephthys, standing dutifully behind him, while Entiu-ny stands

before him with arms upraised in adoration. Behind her stands the weird goddess of the necropolis, reaching out to grasp her, and above is written the caption, "The West receives her" (fig. 31). Finally, to close the whole book the lady stands "adoring the Lord of Dēt, the Sovereign and Prince of the Living," the god Osiris, with her own rank and titles set forth as "the praised of

by Day" and inscribed in another hand with the owner's name, "Te-net-entiu-bekhenuy"—apparently a variant of Te-net-bekhenuy—in spite of the fact that the figure itself was labeled as being Entiu-ny's. Inside the papyrus Entiu-ny is everywhere shown as the owner, but in three places she is named as "born of Te-net-entiu-bekhenuy." Obviously, the latter's name on



FIG. 30. ADORATION OF OSIRIS, LORD OF DĒT

those who are Lords of Thebes, the Mistress of a House, the Chantress of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, the Princess Entiu-ny" (fig. 30).

One curious fact comes to light in this papyrus. Last year we noticed that Entiu-ny's coffins had originally been made for "The Mistress of the House, the Chantress of Amūn, King of the Gods, the Royal Princess Te-net-bekhenuy." When we came to take the papyrus out of the Osiris figure we found it labeled "The Going Forth

the outside of the scroll was a slip of some scribe. After he had rolled the papyrus up he had confused the names of the mother and daughter and—we can scarcely blame him—had jotted down the name of the former instead of the latter. Then by coincidence the daughter was eventually buried in the mother's coffins after the names had been changed here and there on them. Everything was very casual in a Twenty-first Dynasty funeral—at least at the funeral of the very elderly Princess Entiu-ny.

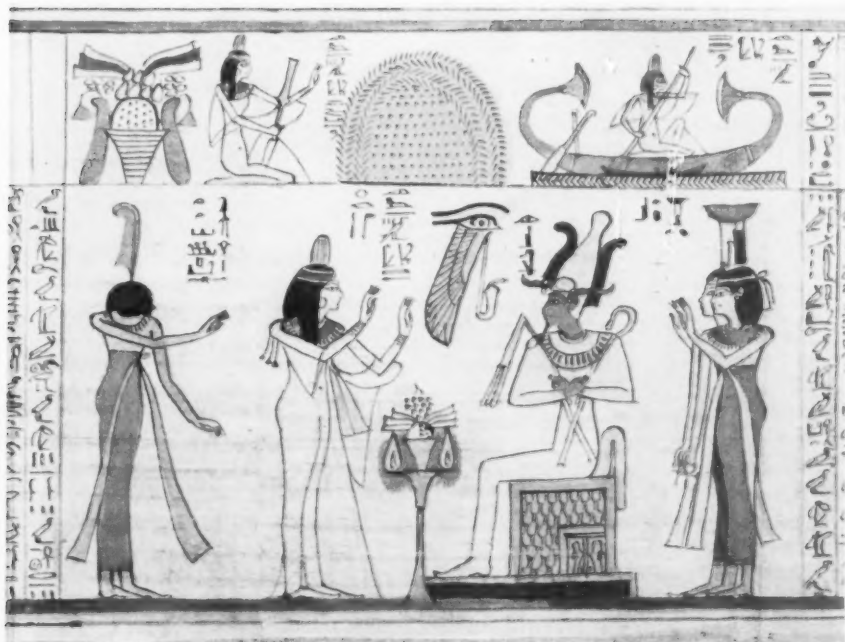


FIG. 31. ADORATION OF OSIRIS (BELOW), WITH SCENES OF ELYSIUM (ABOVE)

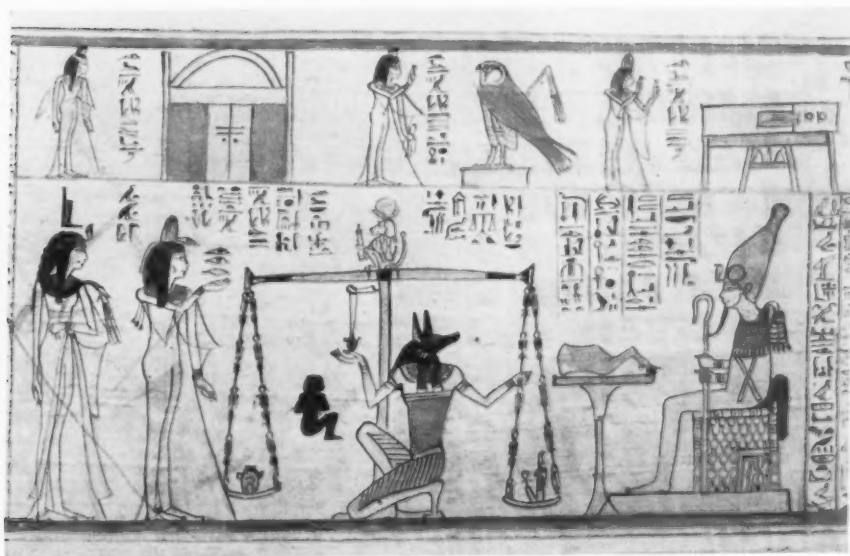


FIG. 32. "THE WEIGHING OF THE HEART" (BELOW) AND ENTIU-NY BEFORE HER TOMB AND ADORING THE DIVINE PALETTE (ABOVE)

While piecing together the statues of Ḥat-shepsūt and unwrapping the mummies of Meryet-Amūn and Entiu-ny, we had our gang of workmen digging in the Deir el Baḥrī neighborhood. Our first task was to clear thoroughly the whole of the ravine in the mouth of which we had found the tomb of Meryet-Amūn. We started with high hopes, for the entire ravine was filled with ancient chip heaps which obviously represented far more extensive quarrying than took place in that tomb. For weeks we cleared every foot of rock surface between the temple and the cliff, turning over masses of rubbish. We had hoped that the excessive amount of quarry chip meant that there were other tombs on the hillside like Meryet-Amūn's, but in the end we had to admit that the chip heaps must have come from the grading of Ḥat-shepsūt's temple. There was no other tomb.

The men were then moved to the south slopes of the 'Asāsif valley where we cleared out about thirty tombs which had never been scientifically explored although their existence had long been known. Nearly all of them were of the Eleventh Dynasty, and many of them yielded interesting ob-

jects, but the end of the season had arrived before we could photograph and study them, and they will have to be reserved for a future report.

The membership of the Expedition was essentially as it had been the winter before. As usual the photography was in Burton's most competent hands. Hauser not only kept the survey of the current excavations up to date, but he finished for publication the plans of the tomb of Meryet-Amūn and made drawings of the reconstructions of her jewelry from the impressions left on her mummy. Wilkinson continued the copying of tombs, practically finishing that of Sen-Mūt, as well as making a start on the only partially published sanctuary of Deir el Baḥrī. Hayes, as in previous years, did among other things the greater part of the work of reconstructing the statues, and identified the texts and illustrations of the papyri of Entiu-ny. Charlotte R. Clark continued her work on the earlier archives of the Expedition, and, in addition, kept the notes and the catalogues of the season's work. Donald F. Brown was charged with the accounts and the correspondence.

H. E. WINLOCK.

THE WORK OF THE GRAPHIC BRANCH OF THE EXPEDITION

The season 1929-1930 was a short one for my wife and myself, as the work needing to be done at home and a deplorably short visit to New York at the end of the year prevented us from reaching Thebes till the ninth of February. Our time there was spent for the most part in collecting the last sparse and difficult gleanings of the tomb of Nefer-hotep, so that they might be put into the hands of the printers on our return. Hence, there being nothing sensational or new to chronicle in this annual survey, it might be well to turn to some aspects which our work in general presents.

The records in the tombs of Thebes consist almost entirely of pictorial expressions of religious faith, a little personal history, and a great deal of self-congratulation—the written texts being largely confined to explanatory labels of the scenes. If the study of written documents and that of excavated objects have their special difficulties and limitations, the interpretation of pictured records, forming a third division of historical research, also offers scope for philological and archaeological knowledge, as well as wide experience and some psychological sense. We may ask then what measure of truth can be reached in this third field, and particularly in that realm which is just now claiming special attention—the precise valuation of such scenes as illuminate the international relations of Egypt in the imperial period.

Egypt has peculiar importance in this respect. In pictorial renditions of non-Egyptian peoples of the far past, and especially in the detailed representations which painting alone can render, Egyptian documents have to furnish what is almost totally lacking in other lands before 1000 B.C. Cretan ruins alone have yielded up a picture of their former inhabitants and their culture which can in some measure compare with them. Mesopotamia has failed us so far for

the important period between 2000 and 1000 B.C., though Assyria is extremely productive after the latter date. For the Hittites to a large degree and almost entirely for the peoples of Punt and of Libya, for the Negroes and the Hamitic tribes to the south, for Phoenicians and for Philistines, for the less important peoples of the Levant and the tribes dwelling in Palestine, we must have recourse to Egyptian pictures to obtain definite conceptions of the appearance of the members of the civilized world in the second millennium before the Christian era.

It is all-important, therefore, that an inquiry should be made into the reliability of these pictures, and it is as well to realize at the outset, to prevent disappointment, that modern standards of historical exactness will have to be imported by us into the study of these records. We shall not find them ready for us there. Hence the task cannot consist merely of collecting and arranging the items offered and then deducing the solution, as if by an operation in mathematics or chemical analysis. One writer has tried to do this, adding and subtracting his facts and then presenting us triumphantly with the residuum—namely, that the Keftians of the Egyptian monuments were not Minoans and did not live in Crete.¹ Burbage, the inventor of the calculating machine, was once asked by a lady whether, if he put in the wrong figures, it would still come out right! Mathematics suggests that the value for knowledge of the above quotient would be relative to the accuracy or inaccuracy of the "facts," multiplied by n (the number of items used), but would demand that minus quantities (the silence and *lacunae* of the sources) should rank equally with plus quantities in

¹ G. A. Wainwright in *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* (University of Liverpool), vol. VI (1913-14), p. 24.

the calculation. History is not in the least an exact science. The vaguest branches of knowledge have much wider room in them than arithmetic has. The ideal historian is he who to a base of great industry adds in perfect proportion the strong acid of purified scepticism and the rare precipitant of refined telepathy.

It is very difficult indeed, since we long for exact historical truth and have so much to build on these deeply buried foundations,

tude must be watched closely. We must be sadly content to know nothing if there is nothing to know. We must be as ready to score above the line as below, admitting the large total which has been lost to us by the carelessness and impulsiveness of our partner (the ancient witness) as well as the positive gains we have made together.

The ancient artist made pictures exclusively for a living. If they were sepulchral, the patron demanded that they should

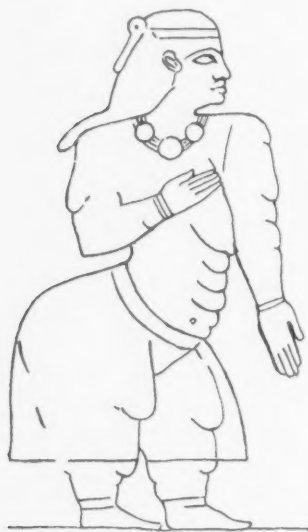


FIG. 1. THE QUEEN OF PUNT AND AN ANCIENT ARTIST'S COPY

to remember how little it was the purpose of the ancient artist to record exact facts and still less to be of help to those who would come to his record without previous familiarity with its subject and its conventions. If we deal with his delightful, and, properly dealt with, most instructive pictures as if they were illustrations to an encyclopedia, we only delude ourselves and render his unintended services to the far future a diminution, instead of an increase of knowledge. A person to whom I pointed out how doubtful the evidence was about an important point in the life of Queen Hat-shepsût replied, "But that cannot be so; for in that case we should know nothing much about her." This self-deluding atti-

show how big a man he had been and what important services he had rendered to the state, having this check on his self-praise, however, that the pictorial statement would be open to the unfavorable criticism of his rivals and superiors. If the artist were engaged on temple records, the situation was in some respects worse. His employer, the king, had no rivals or superiors, and scarcely any flattery is too gross for a king or for the nation he stands for. Hence in a battle of ancient times no one of the national army is ever wounded, still less killed, just as in a hunting scene no quarry ever escapes. If we had the account of a doubtful engagement from the other side as well, it would be seen that both armies

were exterminated to the last man, though everyone got away scatheless!

Again, the ancient artist was schooled as no modern is, and was bound to traditional forms and types, for which some master of

Ken-Amūn that the student sometimes (perhaps in an archaizing era) made copies to scale, but we also have interesting proof of the sort of memorandum which he generally carried away from an educational

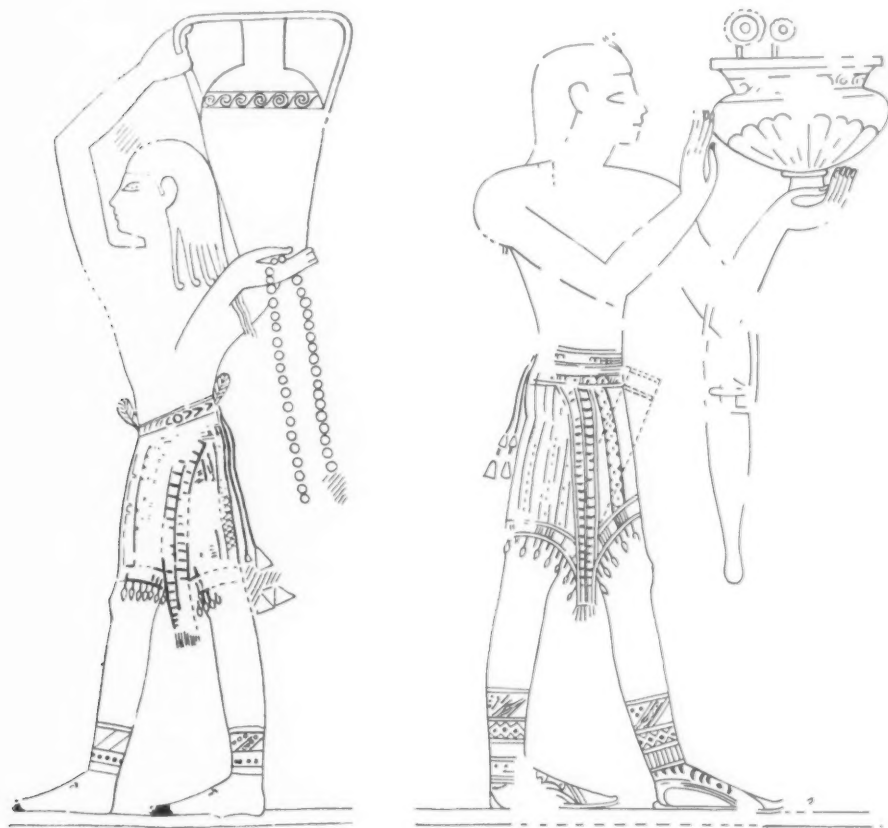


FIG. 2. KEFTIANS FROM TOMBS 86 AND 100

the past, acclaimed for his genial combination of realism with conventional simplification, had set the norm. Yet this conformity to samplers was combined with elasticity to a bewildering degree. Where the subject was complicated, the pupil was required to copy his models in spirit but not in exact form. He was to study closely and with unquestioning reverence, but not to make extensive replicas. Standard bricks were given him, but the architecture might be his own. We know from the tomb of

visit to a monument of repute in a sketch of the obese queen of Punt, which was made in the temple of Deir el Bahri by an artist some centuries after the original relief was carved² (fig. 1). Numberless instances could be given of the close imitation of single objects and figures. The picture of Keftian dress common to Tombs 100 (Rekh-mi-Rē') and 86 is an instructive case

² After Schäfer, *Aegyptische Zeichnungen auf Scherben* (Jahrbuch der Königl. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen, 1916, p. 38).

(fig. 2). On the other hand, though most of the great scenes of foreign tribute in the tombs date from the reign of Thut-mosē III, and though we may suspect that some of them came from the same school, if not from the same hand, there are no general borrowings and the divergences are often surprising, so that it is very difficult to settle the sequence and indebtedness of the artists. As it is often important to know whether two witnesses are independent, this combination of freedom with servility is disconcerting. Only wide intimacy with the subject and the resulting flair can prevent us from drawing very erroneous conclusions, while nothing can prevent us from being occasionally in error, whether from over-credulity or excess of scepticism. Often we are face to face with the choice between presumptive incorrectness or (what is as bad for us for the time) a fidelity to untypical fact which lacks any hall-mark or means of control.

Slavish traditionalism, which is vice in a modern artist, is virtue in an ancient one viewed as a historical witness. We need abstract types, not curious instances, for general truths are the most we can expect or have confidence in. Individual cases have to be specially guaranteed to us. Hence the peculiar ability of the Egyptian artist to create types and hold fast to them is of the utmost value, and his well-known models of the Minoan, the Syrian, the Libyan, etc., are the historian's salvation. On the other hand, the depiction of foreigners, their dress and furnishings, formed one of those fields in which great liberty would be allowed and the artist would often be tempted to supplement his scanty knowledge by false analogies and clever invention. Even if he employed a correct type, it was extremely easy for him to attach the wrong label to it. An instance of this danger is shown in the otherwise valuable representations of Tomb 86. Here the painter set out to show the homage of the northern world. The men in his top row are obviously all representative Minoans (Keftians), except the first three, who are characteristically Syrian in dress and appearance (fig. 3). Yet they are identified by written docket as "The prince of Crete (Keftiu)" and "The prince of Kheta

(the land of the Hittites)"; only the third is credibly identified as the prince of a town in Syria. The grossness of the blunder is plain from figures 2 and 4, where typical Keftians and a typical Hittite are seen; for, even if we suppose that Cretans were settled to the north of Syria and that there were parts of the country where Hittites and Syrians owned the same lordship, their princes at least ought to be typical of the nation.

But if the artist was unfamiliar with the standard model, or none existed, and if he was too conscientious to furbish one up that would pass muster, what sources of information were likely to have been open to him? War times would be a godsend to him, no doubt, as captives, still dressed in their native garb, would be arriving periodically at Thebes, and booty-laden ships would be putting in there, the contents of which our reporter might be permitted to inspect. Even in peace time embassies would come, courting favors with strange gifts, and would be a nine days' wonder in the city. But how many chances would the ordinary draughtsman have of getting a glimpse of a man from far Punt or a stray visitor from Knossos, much less of being able to memorize the mode of dress or other peculiarities? However, in these cases it was of less importance, since for the former he had the excellent portrayals at Deir el Bahri to draw upon, to say nothing of much earlier reliefs, and for the latter the vivid depiction in the tomb of Sen-Mūt.³ This model of the man of Crete, with curly hair, locks streaming down nearly to the waist, dark complexion, beardless face, curious codpiece, and decorated buskins, creates an impression which scarcely leaves anything to be desired. Indeed it may even better the Cretan self-portraits by substituting a natural if somewhat slim waist for the malformation (supposed to be an unnatural constriction of the loins by a metal girdle) which the latter consistently exhibit. Liby-

³ The tomb referred to here and below is no. 71 on the hill of Sheikh 'Abd el Kurneh and not the second tomb excavated for the same individual, which was discovered by the Expedition in 1927 and was described in the BULLETIN, February, 1928, section II, pp. 32 ff.

ans ought to have been a familiar sight, at any rate in north Egypt, but what was the case with Babylonians, Hittites, and others it would be hard to say.

With the inhabitants of Syria it was otherwise. They were tributaries of Egypt, and the men of Byblos, at least, were inveterate traders and no doubt came and went with some frequency. The large Syrian slave population in Egypt was a source of information, if not of example. But was our artist more capable of separating them into

logical distinctions. The races of Syria were more likely to have been divided by him into those who gave him much trouble and a minority which did not. No doubt official lists were often at the disposal of the artist and might be very precise. But what official, enumerating the booty or annual tribute of, say, the city-state of Tunip in north Syria, was in a position to know or care how many of the items were real products of that district and how many were foreign to it, the outcome of its recent raids on a



FIG. 3. PRINCES IN TOMB 86 LABELED KEFTIAN AND HITTITE

Gebalites, Amorites, Philistines, Canaanites, Shasu, and what not, than an educated American is of distinguishing Rajputs from Bengalis or Cingalese in the streets of Calcutta? As the American is apt on occasion to sum these up with a shrug as "just natives," so the Egyptian muttered, "despicable Asiatics!" The Syria of that time is still an almost unknown territory to us, and its mixed races, its kaleidoscopic shiftings of overlordship and boundaries, its tribal customs and products adulterated by strong Cretan, Babylonian, and Egyptian influences, already must have presented a more or less insoluble problem to the contemporary historian. It is doubtful if the head of the Egyptian foreign office, the "superintendent of foreign lands," attached much definiteness to these ethno-

neighbor state? The only pertinent question for him would be their monetary value, the pleasure they would give to the king or the god, or the diminished effectiveness for war their loss would entail on the vanquished. The pictured list in Karnak of the booty from the Syrian conquests of Thutmose III would be regarded by the inquirer as a mine of information. But as one studies that array and notes how thoroughly Egyptian the majority of the objects are, and how many more that look foreign may well have borne the trade-mark, "Made in Egypt," one asks whether these hauls of treasure do not largely consist of articles manufactured in Egypt from captured metal, made by tributaries expressly for Egyptian impost, or chosen from goods which had been imported by them from

Egypt and now returned to it as things best spared in this emergency. Such considerations must make the chronicler halt before using Egyptian depictions of foreign tribute as a guide to the ethnology of the Mediterranean peoples of that dark period.

If one asks then whether ancient history must remain a broken figure seen distortedly through mists of ignorance and falsification, or demands that we shall cease to probe possibilities and probabilities and declare what truth and what falsity are ac-



FIG. 4. A TYPICAL HITTITE

tually found in these records, the answer must be that the web is tangled and that the lack of reliable tests never for long allows us to dispense altogether with *a priori* calculations. But it is very reassuring to find that in the one case (Crete) in which we possess a counterfoil, the Egyptian tradition is found to be essentially correct and in part amazingly so. The Egyptian artist was gifted with notable powers of exact observation and the reflection of it in line; mastery in the profession was attained by their high development, even if the capable draughtsman was only one who could faultlessly follow traditional designs. Hence in the large field in which the dangers of braggadocio, of ignorance, and of pretentiousness were not prevalent we can give him a large trust. Power to be exact implies a love of exactitude, and there is abundant proof that it existed.

This reliability is well exhibited in the pictures of the land of Punt in the temple of Queen Hât-shepsût. It becomes almost a certainty, as we contemplate the forms of the strange fish which filled the waters of that land, that the queen had sent artists with the expedition to make studies for her edification, the more so that the vaunted success of the expedition was that it had established friendly relations with the people. The same precaution to ensure a faithful report of a distant land in intimate commercial contact with Egypt may explain the admirable pictures of Minoans in the tomb of Sen-Mût, though we can scarcely believe that they were the first to be procured.⁴

But there is another side to the shield. When Thût-mosë III commenced his wars in Syria a few years later, he appears to have resolved not to be outdone by his rival but to take war correspondents with him who should collect material for a picture of the fauna and flora of the land to adorn his temple at Karnak in similar wise. The artists found their task much more difficult, however, since they were not in a friendly country. If they wandered from the line of march, fell behind, or strayed beyond the limits of the pitched camp or the fenced city, they were liable to fall into the hands of hostile bands. Their fears are reflected in the words of one of their countrymen, "Lo, here is a defile, infested by Bedawin who are hidden under the bushes. There are men of them seven and eight feet high from their noses to their foot soles, wild-looking fellows whose heart is not friendly and who are deaf to fine words. Shudders come over thee; thy hair stands on end and thy heart is in thy mouth (lit. hand)." When their stay came to an end, they found that the material they had gathered was of the scantiest and most commonplace kind. But from this *impasse* at least the journalist could find a way with the best of his modern successors in

⁴ In assessing the evidential value of this picture, it must not be forgotten that three quarters of the figures of the Minoans bearing products of their land have been destroyed. And even greater loss is that of all pre-war portraits of Syrians and others by the same careful hand.

the profession. The flora he had failed to collect he could invent. A finer and more convincing collection of fakes, cleverly mingled with some genuine objects, is not to be found in any dealer's shop in Thebes. Who would not be convinced by the verisimilitude of the designs (fig. 5), sprinkled with a liberal addition of Egyptian birds and plants to show how similar the two countries were though the familiar lotus had ceased to be a water-plant there? Why, this conscientious botanist has gone to the

dles are attached to nothing; and the furnishings of several vases, themselves fantastically adorned, are united in one specimen (fig. 6). In the array of utensils scarcely one could have been of any use. No doubt fanciful creations were built up for the delectation of the palace; for examples one has only to look at the contraptions made in alabaster for King Tût-'ankh-Amûn. But these later pictures pass all bounds. With such irresponsible artists about, it will not surprise us to find gross errors in

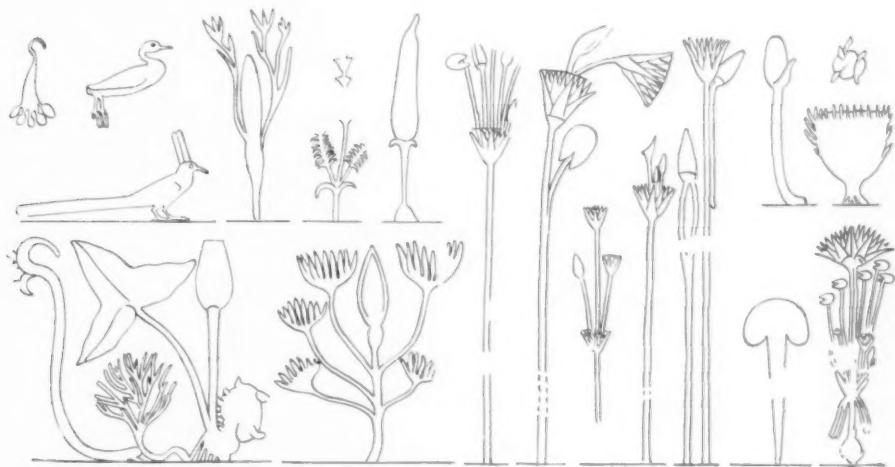


FIG. 5. PRETENDED SYRIAN FLORA

trouble of painfully securing his specimens root and all! I hope that I am not doing an injustice to a fellow craftsman; at least it affects only his morals; for, if I am right, the powers of imaginative combination he displays are beyond praise. And what was the poor fellow to do? Bedawin in the pass were not so formidable as a king in his wrath.

The Nineteenth Dynasty decorators of the Theban temples showed feeble gifts of the same sort in the marvelous combinations of ornament on the gold vessels which they display as captured from the enemy by their warring kings. Rosettes, craftily used by genuine artificers to support a fragile stem in woodwork or in alabaster,⁵ are here seen floating in space; slender han-

dles are attached to nothing; and the furnishings of several vases, themselves fantastically adorned, are united in one specimen (fig. 6). In the array of utensils scarcely one could have been of any use. No doubt fanciful creations were built up for the delectation of the palace; for examples one has only to look at the contraptions made in alabaster for King Tût-'ankh-Amûn. But these later pictures pass all bounds. With such irresponsible artists about, it will not surprise us to find gross errors in

the presentation of foreign types, not perhaps in the mass, but in individual cases. When, after the Libyan wars of Sethy I and Ramesses III, the booty is described as consisting of a collection of metal vases (fig. 7), though the Libyans seem to have been devoid of high culture, populous cities, or mineral wealth, we need not alter our estimates or labor at the problem involved, but simply discredit the report entirely.

It is fatal to proceed by adding and subtracting the pieces of evidence offered without criticizing their date, their independence, and their inherent merit; for, as the years went on, there was a distinct loss of exactitude, partly by a weakening of the impulse to sharp characterization and the power to create types, partly because the problem was being greatly and rapidly com-

⁵ BULLETIN, November, 1929, section II, p. 37.

plicated by the mixture of races and of the outward forms of civilization. We find, for instance, in Tomb 84 a solitary example of a Syrian wearing boots (fig. 8), such as elsewhere only Cretans wear. But does this prove that the Cretans were not the booted people *par excellence*, or only that the artist, getting tired of a long series of bare feet, recalled that he had once seen a supposed Syrian wearing boots in the streets of Thebes or Kadesh? If one notices a lady in a kimono going to her bath on an

not free from items that are suspect. Were there rivers in the land of Punt which could harbor hippopotamus? The ridiculous exaggeration of the gold cup in the tomb of Sen-Mūt to the size of a sitz bath might be understood as adopted only to afford room for displaying the remarkable decoration,⁶ but the Minoan codpiece attached to the loin cloth seems even there to have been interpreted as a quiver, or at least so twisted round and squared up that it misled subsequent artists into treating it as if it

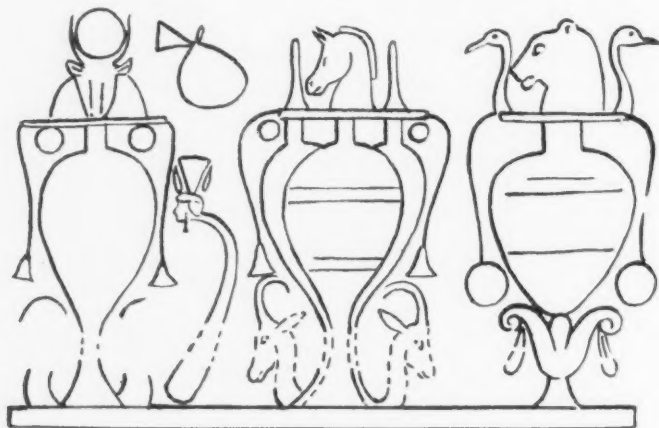


FIG. 6. SYRIAN TRIBUTE

ocean liner one does not need to draw the conclusion that the wearer is Japanese. The Egyptian *fellāh* whose bare feet did not flinch from the sharpest flints a decade ago now covets English boots; this may prove that European influences are strong in Egypt today, but not that the English are descended from the lost House of Israel. Such foolish reminders are needed in reading some modern treatises on ancient history. Moreover, when we observe that the artist who is responsible for the figure in question derived his pictures in large part from the tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē' and pitifully altered them for the worse, as the horse, among other borrowed elements, shows, we shall be inclined to judge that slovenliness may have affected his memory as well as his outlines, and pay no undue attention to the black boots.

Even the most reliable of our sources are

were, and would have misled us had we not known it from Cretan representations. The scribe of User-Amūn recopied it carefully.⁷ He of Rekh-mi-Rē' added it to all or nearly all his Keftians until he remembered that the dependencies of Crete which he included in this purview did not use this manner of dress, or that most of the Keftians he had seen concealed it below a fuller kilt. So he painted it out again as best he could (see fig. 2). All contemporary artists follow this example and dress the Keftians in a kilt which, without being a misrepresentation, is unsatisfactorily like that of Syrians and so loses its value for us as an ethnic trait.

Even a reign later things become much less admissible. The artist of Ken-Amūn in a finely painted list of subject nations

⁶ BULLETIN, March, 1926, section II, p. 43.

⁷ Ibid., p. 42.

allows a fad for symmetry to outweigh all respect for realism.⁸ One would think that half the labels had been wrongly assigned. The men from the Delta and from the extreme south of Egypt are almost identical; the dweller in the Eastern Desert resembles him of the Western, and both might be brothers of the man from the far Euphrates. Nothing could be further from the truth than these parallels. Upholders of certain theories might find welcome support in the broken reeds offered here by the similarity

tion is made in picture. On the same wall two tribes of Nubia are similarly linked and also "Retnu and all the lands of the remote Easterners" (that is, Palestine and Syria). The most familiar member of the combination is put first; the wider and more indefinite area follows. Hence, though the association of the Aegean islands under Minoan influence with Crete itself may have led to the exclusion from the picture of some peculiarly Cretan traits, any separation of these foreigners into two different civiliza-

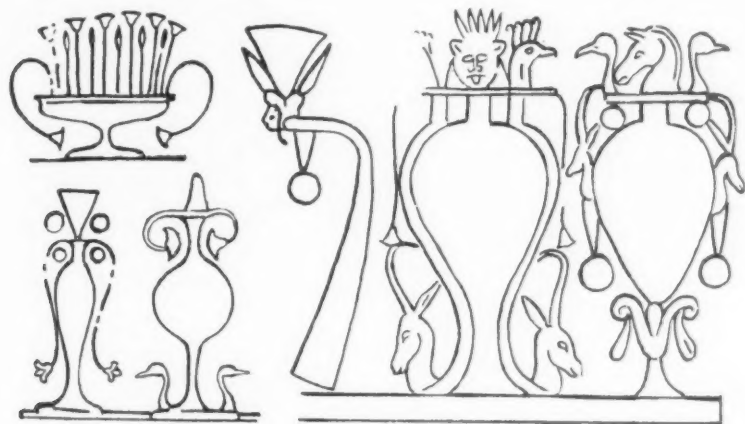


FIG. 7. LIBYAN TRIBUTE

of the inhabitant of Kefti to the Cilician and of both to the Libyian; but they will have to divest the former of his superfluous beard. It is an irony of history that the three Egyptian instances in which the name Kefti is definitely attached to a figure differ widely, and all are untruthful. The second of these possessors of a black mark was illustrated in my last report and condemned because he had hair semi-Keftian, semi-Libyian; the face and shoes of a Hittite; a cap and dress that might be Syrian but could not be Cretan. The third misfit, found in Tomb 86, has been noticed above. In the tomb of Rekh-mi-Re' the file of Minoans is labeled, "The chiefs of Kefti (and) the seagirt isles." Such associations of two peoples occur only when the relationship is so close that no visible distinc-

tions is quite illegitimate and even perverse. In the tomb of User-Amūn the land of the pictured Minoans seems to have been designated by the term, "the seagirt isles," and I am quite prepared to believe that it was the same in the tomb of Sen-Mūt.

During the many successive years when Thut-mose III was carrying his wars into Syria, the nucleus of Minoan influence, or the abode of that part of the people with which the Egyptians came into closest contact, was called by them Kefti, a name little mentioned till that time. The increased frequency with which we hear of it is due to Kefti's being dragged with the rest of the known world after the triumphal car of Egypt's kings, in the mafficking songs of the period at least. This cannot have been pure brag. At the time Crete was nearing the end of its most exuberant age in a semi-final catastrophe. This ruin can have been

⁸ Davies, *Tomb of Ken-Amūn at Thebes*, pl. XII.

brought about only by loss of maritime domination and can hardly have failed of a prelude in a gradual weakening in the same direction. The island may well have ceased already to have direct relations with Egypt, and its culture may have been spread chiefly from colonies on the mainland or in Cyprus. Egypt now commanded the terminal marts of Crete's commerce, thereby in some measure dominating her. Hence it happened that Egyptians of that time learned to know Cretans from their traders or outliers in places where they and their products were confused with those of the other races through which both had passed before coming into touch with Egypt. This might give some slight excuse for the three erroneous portraits given by artists who took their own ignorance for inside knowledge. All three cannot be typical, and, in fact, none is; for the Keftians, wherever they lived, were essentially Minoan. But these three perpetrations, two of them merely listing Kefti as a conquered land (a preliminary inexactitude) and the other portraying an imaginary prince, serve to give greater value to the representations in the earlier tombs, since the latter pictures, showing a number of men bearing gifts, are likely to owe their greater correctness to a derivation from memories of visiting embassies or trading companies coming direct from Crete.

An apparent error in the tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē' itself is of considerable interest. In a row of captives of all lands there occur Syrian and Negro slave women. The latter, as usual, are carrying their youngest children in panniers on their backs, and one of the Syrian women adopts the same method. It seems highly unlikely that a custom, suited to barbaric lands or to a nomad population in which the women were the carriers of the tribe, should extend to a country so far distant and so much more advanced in culture. Yet one hesitates when another instance is found in Tomb 81 (fig. 10). But this apparent confirmation proves to have negative value, since it occurs in a precisely similar grouping together of women of north and south. Evidently the artist has carried a southern feature over to the women of the north, and he of Rekh-

mi-Rē' has borrowed from a tomb which deserved to be considered a model of drawing. This dependence is further proved by the occurrence in both tombs of the (otherwise unknown) scalloped red dress of the Negresses, an unusual slimness of figure, and the human touch of one of the youngsters' being pacified by having something to munch. Moreover, in another picture in the tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē' the use of the panniers is confined to Negresses, as it should be.⁹ It may be possible to carry this borrowing still further back and to add another error in doing so. For at Beni Hasan, half a millennium earlier, a fair and blue-eyed woman, perhaps a Libyan nomad, is shown with a similar skirt and pannier (fig. 9). The Libyans were a people simple enough for such a custom and such a dress, and they may have been in touch over a long range of desert with the Negroes of the southwest. But it looks as if the association of this skirt with the pannier had been brought to Thebes by some artist who had made the long journey to Beni Hasan to study its famed paintings. If the chronicler in pictures was not always well informed about the dress of foreign men, he would be still less so regarding the ways of their womenfolk. We deplore today the rapid spread of European dress and European articles of daily use among peoples far distant and alien, and still more the incongruous admixture of what is foreign and what is native. Over a more limited sphere this natural result of the intercommunication of peoples of varying degrees of culture was already strongly in evidence more than three thousand years ago. If the aesthete, then as now, had cause to complain, much more the historian. Egypt, Mesopotamia, Crete, as later Greece and Rome, gave and took, and Syria, as the meeting place of these currents, must have been a cultural maelstrom. Indeed the terms "Syria" and "Syrianizing," which are used too often in the histories of this period, are terms which conceal our profound ignorance in a matter of considerable importance. We must use them, but must equally bear in mind how little definite meaning they have for us as yet. Syria is either a name for the land in its

⁹ BULLETIN, December, 1928, section II, p. 39.

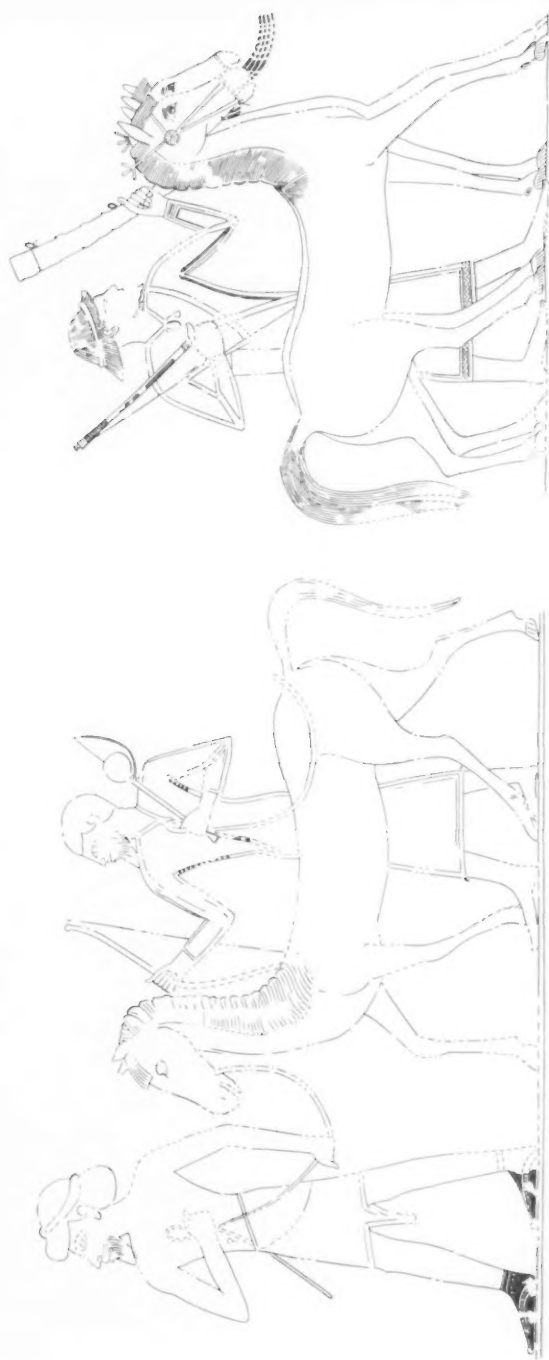


FIG. 8. SYRIANS FROM TOMBS 84 (LEFT) AND 100 (RIGHT)

latest political boundaries, or a vague term for a district roughly corresponding to it in ancient times but having no unity of race, speech, or culture, and without a fixed center. The names which the Egyptians used for this land and Palestine together do not correspond to any demarcations and have no fixity. "Kharu," "Zahi," "Retnu (Upper and Lower)," "Satet," and other and more general terms are often little better than



FIG. 9. A LIBYAN (?) WOMAN
BENI HASAN

poetical appellatives and not much more definite than Thule or the Picts and Scots were to the Romans. Egypt itself was the only land whose boundaries remained fixed through the ages, and which, even when conquered, was essentially unchanged till Greek and Roman times, though superficially it became so far easternized in, and even before, the Eighteenth Dynasty that, unless we can go farther back for our evidences, it is hard to say that this and that is pure Egyptian and this and that foreign. Crete, too, may seem not to have changed during its shorter history; but that is probably because we know practically nothing of its story, though so much about its very individual culture.

But Syria and Palestine were in continual flux and had a bewildering history. Their tribal divisions changed allegiance continually; conquerors came and disappeared; the overlordship of this or that city or tribe lasted but a few generations. Under such conditions their racial composition, their religion, and their speech might keep some vitality, but their arts and crafts could maintain no individuality and reach no supremacy. Even the Hittite empire, with its five languages and swaying fortunes, was only one of the most successful of the northern adventurers, extending the conditions which prevailed in Syria into the more secure heart of Asia Minor also. Only Byblos (the later Phoenicia) shows continuity and acquired wealth, because it had the trading instinct of being useful to all, hostile to none that would let it live, and ready to make commercial use of every influence that blew on it from the four quarters of the earth. Through its trade and the wars that surrounded it, this coastal district became an internationalizing force that might count as a bond of unity, and this was strengthened by the language and script that Babylonia imposed upon the land in early days and by the armed protectorate that Egypt for a time grudged to it. Syria then, despite a certain unity based on an underlying racial stock and similarity of social conditions, was no nation but only the clearing house and sports ground of the surrounding peoples.

An opposite tendency has also to be taken into account. The Egyptianizing of Syria, chiefly through Byblos, had begun in very early times and had fallen on very receptive soil. The power of this influence, with the weight of military force behind it, must have been enormous during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. Hence Syria—to speak of that country alone—often gave back to Egypt only what she had already received. The decorative vessels which came thence use generously the lotus and the papyrus; the ibex and the gazelle are more common as animal forms than the horse; the deities of Egypt and the East may be left to contend which of them has most part in the symbolic use of a lion's head or an ox's. When we see the craftsman

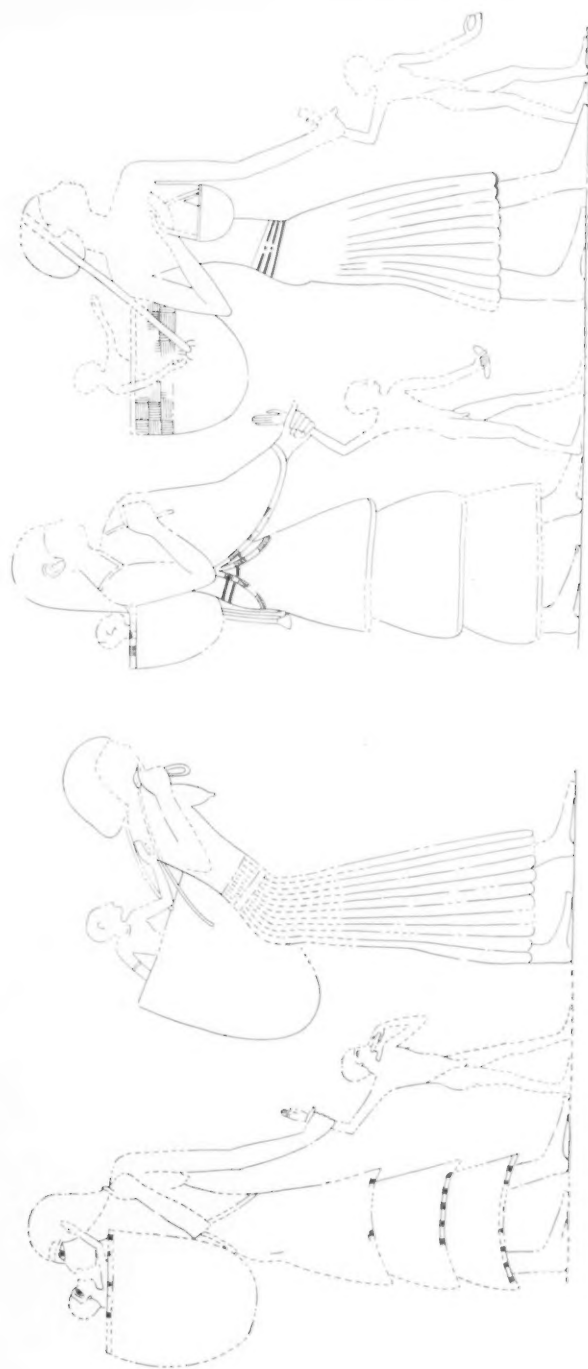


FIG. 10. SYRIAN AND NEGRO WOMEN. TOMBS 81 (LEFT) AND 100 (RIGHT)

in an Egyptian workshop making chariots out of wood imported from Syria, or forming gold vases with openwork rim ornaments and running scrolls, it is apparent that more than a detective's cunning is needed to trace back the story of a nation's past career or run down a decorative motive to its last origin.

This incomplete and disproportionate survey of some of the difficulties that confront the student of Egyptian pictures in a highly important sphere may give the layman a more sympathetic interest in illustrations which he will meet with frequently in the BULLETIN and other publications of the Museum, as well as on the walls of its galleries. It would however create a very wrong impression if it made him too sceptical of their value for history. The marvel is that histories of so remote and alien a period can be written at all; the knowledge that

there are great hindrances to doing so, which only patience and deeply informed criticism can surmount, should only increase the layman's interest in the results obtained, his gratitude to those who have come through doubt to knowledge, and his desire to support the efforts of the Museum to reach the first requisite—accurate copies of the contemporary documents that have come down to us through a thousand vicissitudes. The next few years ought to see published by us all the most reliable of these in Theban tombs which deal with this special subject. The University of Chicago has just published its first volume dealing in an admirable way with like representations in the temple of the same area. Reliable histories cannot be built up on faulty or narrow foundations.

N. DE G. DAVIES.

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